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The Shape of Things

LIKE EVERYONE ELSE WHO SAVORS A GOOD mystery story, we are eager to know whether the handsome young executive, Alger Hiss, is an innocent victim or the slick operator he must be if Whittaker Chambers's testimony is proved to be correct. Overwhelming proof that a government official was also a member of a Communist cell and that he was able to conceal his double life so successfully would make the case significant from both the human and political points of view. But even if Hiss were convicted of perjury, the exposure would not constitute that vindication of the Thomas committee and its methods which the members of the committee are already rushing forward to claim. Something more is needed for that; namely, proof that acts of espionage were actually committed by Communists and fellow travelers holding government jobs. But this is exactly what the committee seems to lack. The Canadian and British inquiries showed that Communists *have* committed such acts. The Thomas committee has shown only that they might—and that fact was long since recognized by the Administration and countered by the establishment of loyalty boards.

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THE THOMAS COMMITTEE'S INTERIM REPORT was noteworthy for its petulance and its apologetic tone. It denounced Attorney General Clark for his inadequate enforcement of existing espionage laws, lambasted the White House and department heads for not cooperating in the inquiry, and called on the Federal Grand Jury in New York to proceed against Communist espionage activities "without partisanship and without prejudice" —this from the Thomas committee! It is almost as if Messrs. Thomas and Stripling had an inkling that they have not delivered what they advertised. Surely, it is time the committee produced at least one spy in its spy inquiry, displayed at least one overt act of treachery. Its continued failure to do so must lend more and more weight to the charge that it is merely trying to smear Roosevelt and the Democratic Administration in an election year, and must cause even ordinary Americans to wonder what the shouting is about. We suggest that the committee meet, for a change, the good old American challenge—put up or shut up.

PENDING DETAILED INFORMATION FROM Mississippi, we can only associate ourselves with such sentiment as that of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* concerning the renomination of John E. Rankin. "A large majority," that paper sadly remarks, "has returned to Congress for the fifteenth time this anti-labor, anti-Negro, anti-Semite, Communist-witch-hunting demagogue . . . the most raucous hate-monger in Congress." Few local observers expected Rankin to come through this time. Two years ago, he squeaked in by 2,000 votes against one of the two candidates he defeated in the recent campaign. Last summer, he came in fifth in a five-cornered fight for the seat of the late Senator Bilbo. There was more than a suggestion of pessimism in the speech with which Rankin himself wound up his 1948 campaign. "My defeat," he said, "would be the best news Joe Stalin ever heard." Reports from Moscow reflect no knowledge at all of what has transpired in Tishomingo and adjoining counties, but we are told that Rankin's remark undoubtedly left an impression among the innocent hillfolk of that region. What with poll taxes, intimidation, and ignorance, no more than 15 per cent of Mississippi's citizens of voting age actually go to the polls. (The figure for Illinois, by way of comparison, is 82 per cent.) That is the prime factor in the political life of John Rankin. It would be romantic to expect him to lift a finger against the system that has given him thirty undeserved years in Congress.

*

THE RECENT RUN-OFF DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY in Arkansas gave a more hopeful view of the future of Southern politics. Jack Holt, one of the candidates for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, bitterly criticized President Truman's civil-rights program and accused his opponent, Sidney S. McMath, of the heinous offense of courting the Negro vote. Featured in newspaper advertisements and radio programs, this attack resulted in an unprecedented rush of Negro voters to the polls to support McMath. It also had the effect of bringing out 292,266 votes—an all-time record vote in an Arkansas primary election. McMath's margin of victory—11,000 votes—is believed to represent approximately the size of the Negro vote. As the wavering Southern liberals ponder the dynamics of present-day Dixie politics, they will sooner or later realize that the increasing Negro vote is the key to political success.

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The Arkansas election, however, also gave evidence of a new technique for intimidating Negro voters. Local prosecutors subpoenaed Negro leaders in a number of communities for questioning about "unsigned marked ballots" and other alleged violations of the election laws. But intimidation, no matter how ingenious, will become increasingly difficult as the size of the Negro vote mounts, for the larger this vote becomes, the more white politicians will be tempted to accept Negro support and protect the Negro's right to vote.

*

EVEN THE TROPICAL HEAT THAT CHOKED New York last week was hardly an adequate excuse for the strange outburst of Mayor William O'Dwyer. Declaring "all-out war" on Congressman Vito Marcantonio, the Communists, the American Labor Party, and Henry Wallace, the Mayor issued two high-handed directives. First, no Communist or member of the city's Communist-dominated C. I. O. Council was to have access to his office for the balance of his term—"the closest any Communist can get to City Hall is on a picket line." And second, Hugo Rogers, Manhattan Borough President and Tammany boss, was ordered to separate some forty Marcantonio backers from the city payroll within two days, with O'Dwyer himself accounting for another fifty employees. What set off the explosion was the Congressman's refusal to make a deal with the Democrats whereby he would support their candidate for Surrogate in exchange for undercover Democratic support in his own campaign for re-election. This sort of arrangement has been common ever since the Labor Party came into existence, and there is not the faintest reason to suppose that Marcantonio refused this time out of anything resembling a principle. But it was certainly his privilege to refuse, and the Mayor only makes himself ridiculous when he tells reporters that the purge is necessary because Wallace and the A. L. P. are out to smash the Democratic Party, whether or not that means perpetuating the rule of a Republican Congress. Mr. O'Dwyer knew all about this when his men first broached the deal to Marcantonio. The Democrats are politically justified in trying to unseat the A. L. P. Congressman—and, judging from the primaries, they would seem to have an excellent chance of doing so—but someone should inform His Honor that City Hall is not his private residence and city employees are not his chattels.

*

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, NEVER BASHFUL about prescribing for the ills of the world, has come up with a proposal for heading off a war that "none of the powers can afford and nobody desires." The trouble, he thinks, lies in the looseness of political terminology, with negotiations between Russia and the West "impos-

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sible unless the parties use the same words for the same things and understand what the words mean." What is needed is a new political dictionary, "to clear our heads." We should like nothing better than to witness the conference at which a commission composed of, say, Shaw, Ilya Ehrenburg, André Malraux, and Walter Lippmann sat down to work out definitions of democracy, imperialism, socialism, state capitalism, and so forth. A "police state" to one is a "people's republic" to another; what we call "imperialism" is the Russians' "good neighbor policy"—and vice versa; while an armed rebel may be a "bandit" or a "patriot," depending on which side of the struggle you happen to favor. What Shaw overlooks—in the unlikely event that he takes his notion seriously—is that language is a major weapon in modern war. The principle laid down by that great semanticist, Humpty Dumpty, is the prevailing rule: A word "means just what I choose it to mean." When the powers that be are ready to lay down their other weapons, they will disarm verbally as well. In the meantime, we would like to see the Shavian project proceed informally, as a contribution to the peace—or cold war, as it is sometimes known.

*

AMERICAN AIR TRANSPORT COMPANIES THAT do not operate on regular schedules began by making occasional trips when the traffic warranted, much as the old jitneys competed with regular bus and street-car lines. Recently, the number of their flights has increased, and they have been offering transcontinental service with frequent stops. The number of flights of the non-scheduled lines has, however, been restricted by the Civil Aeronautics Administration. These companies are now petitioning for the right to make scheduled transcontinental flights at a lower rate than that of the certified lines, and without any mail subsidy. Offering neither elaborate service nor meals *en route*, they compare their facilities to those of long-distance buses or coach travel on the railroads. They assert that they are meeting standard safety requirements. They would provide an accurate measure of the air transport market, they say, because they would not depend on subsidies. Whether their contentions are well founded, no layman can say, but the CAA should give them a prompt and full opportunity to prove their case. If safe, though somewhat less comfortable, air travel can be offered at lower costs to more people, those who want to offer it should be given a chance to see whether they can make it pay. If that is not the essence of private enterprise, we do not know what is.

*

IT IS WITH THE GREATEST OF PLEASURE THAT we announce the appointment of Thomas Sancton as *The Nation's* Washington correspondent. Readers will remember his two-part article, White Supremacy—Crisis or Plot, which appeared in our issues of July 24 and 31. A former managing editor of the *New Republic*, Associated Press correspondent, and Nieman Fellow, Mr. Sancton has spent the past several years working on a book about the South.

How Do You Separate Them, Mr. Wallace?

IF HENRY WALLACE is being correctly quoted, he has again demonstrated the naïveté that is at once the despair of his friends and the jest of his enemies. Concerned over the threatened walk of Rexford G. Tugwell, who last week confessed himself an "uneasy member" of the Progressive Party, Wallace faced the issue of whether or not to repudiate his Communist supporters. His solution was to distinguish between Communists who believe in violent overthrow of the government (these he rejected) and those who do not. He could not say what the percentages of the respective groups might be, but he was sure that "there is as much variation in the beliefs of Communists as in the beliefs of Democrats and Republicans."

The Progressive nominee similarly spurned the aid of any group that gave its "allegiance to some foreign capital first—whether it is Moscow or any other place." But when he was asked specifically whether this meant the Communists, he suggested that their allegiance is not to a foreign capital, but to a "system of thought."

We can understand Mr. Wallace's tactical problem. He has to reconcile within his party the Tugwells, on the one side, and the Communists, on the other. But with all the understanding in the world, it is not possible to accept so fantastic an escape. If Mr. Wallace has not yet heard of the Communists' famous "democratic centralism," which makes political differences within the party unthinkable, it is time he looked into the matter. If he can separate an allegiance to the Communist Party from an allegiance to Moscow, then he has obviously never heard of the Communist International, of its successor, the Communist Information Bureau, or of the classic Communist argument that the interests of the Soviet Union are synonymous with the interests of workers the world over.

Even if there were the distinctions among Communists that Mr. Wallace, almost alone, has noticed, just how does he propose to separate the sheep from the goats? Will all the comrades who favor violence and allegiance to Russia raise their hands and step out of the Progressive ranks, now that they have been repudiated? Or will they go right on with the task of "forging the new political alignment," as directed last May by the Communist national committee?

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Franklin D. Roosevelt at times suffered the same burden of the Communists' support. He, no more than Wallace, was able to shake off their votes at the polls. But he repudiated them regularly, whole-heartedly, and without double-talk. And by no stretch of the imagination were the comrades ever allowed a prominent role in the affairs of the Democratic Party.

The Struggle for Germany

EVEN the utmost success of the negotiations at Moscow can hardly decide whether Russian or Western influence is to be dominant in Germany. That struggle is likely to go on for many years. The plan for the peace made before the end of the war—that some kind of government for the whole of Germany would be set up under four-power tutelage, and that, in due time, a treaty with this government would set the framework for a new and pacific nation which would no longer disturb the peace—now seems like a mirage. We may better interpret daily events if we think of them in their relation to the long contest rather than as isolated incidents, or as annoyances and pressures adopted merely for advantage in some transitory quarrel between military governments.

Take, for example, the course of events in Berlin. The Communist demonstrations aimed at ousting the elected city government from the Russian sector are not mere trouble-making, to show us how difficult the Russians can be if we do not accede to whatever terms they have in mind. It is, rather, part of an easily recognizable pattern of Communist strategy. Long ago, the Russians employed the Socialist Unity Party, subject to Communist discipline and supported by the army of occupation, to establish firm political control of their zone of Germany outside of Berlin. Having gained supremacy by the maneuver of including enough elements to give the impression of having a broad popular base, the Socialist Unity Party is now being narrowed and hardened by exclusion of "unreliable" recruits. Only a few days ago, it was announced that the scheduled elections would be postponed, ostensibly so that the Germans could concentrate on production, but in reality to prevent the consolidation of any important opposition before the party dictatorship could be made unassailable.

In Berlin itself, supervised by four-power government, the job was a little more difficult. Free elections had put in power a Social Democratic regime. It was impossible for the Communists to obtain control of key positions so long as this situation continued. The Russian military authorities proceeded to break up the four-power organizations for military government by withdrawing from them. Without the consent of the legal government of the city, they installed a police chief and a police force in their zone that would obey their orders rather than those of the elected civil officials. Then followed the carefully staged demonstrations to force the elected assembly to abandon the city hall, which is in the Russian zone, and the police, of course, did nothing to stop the *putsch*. When the mayor complained to the Russian military authorities, he was ironically told to go to the police chief for protection. The obvious aim is to secure Communist dictatorship of the Russian zone of Berlin, whether or not the Western powers can be forced to withdraw.

It is so transparent that in this instance the Russians, not the Western Allies, are taking the initiative in the geographical splitting of Germany, that it would seem that all Germans must see who are the foes of their unification. Yet it is undeniable that the chief weapon of Russian propaganda for the winning of German opinion is to represent the Soviets as the exponents of German unity and the Western powers as its enemies. This is not mere brazen effrontery; it is carefully designed to

For a Public Hearing

Deeply concerned by the threat to all freedom of thought contained in the arbitrary banning of *The Nation,* a group of authors and publishers last week petitioned the New York Board of Education to reconsider, at a public hearing, its act of censorship. Under the aegis of Stop Censorship!, a constituent organization of the Ad Hoc Committee to Lift the Ban, some sixty-six individuals and twenty publishing houses have made known their intention to fight this proscription "of students' intellectual inquiry." For reasons of space, we cannot list at this time all those who signed the telegraphed petition. Some of them are:

Henry Seidel Canby	Christopher LaFarge
Bernard De Voto	Sinclair Lewis
Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Christopher Morley
Gilbert W. Gabriel	Archibald MacLeish
Oscar Hammerstein, II	Rex Stout

Harcourt, Brace and Company	Eugene Reynal
Harper and Brothers	Frank MacGregor
Houghton Mifflin Company	Hardwick Moseley
Alfred A. Knopf, Incorporated	Alfred A. Knopf
Little, Brown and Company	Angus Cameron
Oxford University Press, Inc.	Philip Vaudrin
Pocket Books, Incorporated	Freeman Lewis
Publishers Weekly	Frederic G. Melcher
Random House	Donald P. Klopfer
Rinehart and Company	Frederick Rinehart
Robert M. McBride and Company	Robert M. McBride
Simon and Schuster Company	Jack Goodman
Thomas G. Crowell Company	Robert L. Crowell
University of New Mexico Press	Fred L. Harvey
University of Pennsylvania Press	Phelps Soule
Viking Press	Harold Guinzberg
W. W. Norton and Company	Storer B. Lunt

A subsequent issue will carry the complete listing.

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serve the long-term purpose in view. It could not be countered effectively merely by a persuasive statement of the Western position. Combined with the sort of thing that has been going on in Berlin, it carries a message to Germans which doubtless will be driven home again and again.

What the Russians are saying to the Germans in effect is this: In every area that we control, Communist power is certain to be established on a firm and unshakable basis. There is and can be no hope for "bourgeois democracy," either in eastern Germany or in Berlin. This is a fact you must accept; there is nothing tentative or reversible about it; it is as inevitable as a force of nature. We may not be able to occupy the whole of Germany for the time being, but we cannot be ousted from the territories we hold until we get good and ready to go. If you want unity under a German government, you can get it on Communist terms, but not otherwise. The Western powers are therefore the enemies of German unity. You will get your unity only if and when you cooperate with us in compelling their withdrawal.

WHAT can the Western Allies and the democratic forces in Germany do to counter this policy? Their refusal to be ousted from Berlin, may, as is urged, be important, since Berlin has symbolic value as the capital of Germany. But no short-run course, improvised from day to day to deal with whatever the Russians may do, is sufficient. And while it is wise to avoid unnecessary friction and to come to any possible agreement by negotiation, even on small things, our policy should not leave the initiative in the hands of Russia. It should be based on long-term considerations, as in the case of the Marshall Plan, and should have a goal based on what is possible and the means required to achieve it.

If, by some miracle, the Russians could be brought to agree to a unified government for Germany, whatever its degree of centralization or decentralization, under conditions permitting really free elections, we ought to be willing to take the chance. Indeed, we could seize the initiative by proposing and continually renewing a proposal of this kind. Of course, the offer would have to make clear that no such government as has been imposed on eastern Germany and the Russian zone of Berlin could be tolerated.

If, as is probable, the Russians would not agree to the conditions necessary to guarantee free elections and representative government, we should have to press ahead as rapidly as possible with the revival and reconstruction of western Germany, always leaving the door open to the possibility that the regime accepted there could be extended over the rest of the nation. And in doing this, we should cooperate, not with ex-Nazis and cartelists, but with the Social Democrats and other democratic forces. If we concentrate on this and on the success of European recovery, there is at least an opportunity to prove by example, in the course of time, that our formula is capable of yielding a better life than that now offered by the Communists. No more appropriate goal could be chosen than the chance to test, in the long run, the comparative validity of the competing philosophies. In that case, the raw contest for power might be converted into a rivalry that would not involve imminent danger of destruction for all concerned.

East Meets West at Wroclaw

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Wroclaw, Poland, August 29

IF THE press reports have indicated that the meeting of the Cultural Congress for Peace at Wroclaw was merely the opportunity for an explosion of anti-American feeling, a wrong impression has been given the American public. In spite of the predominance of Communist opinion frequently expressed here with violence, in spite of the majority representation offered the furthest left parties and groups, the congress was democratically run, with full latitude offered to those of contrary points of view.

The British and American delegations presented a wide range of opinion from left to center, though the left was numerically stronger in both instances. A liberal rebuttal to the extreme Communist pronunciamentos was delivered in several vigorous speeches by Bryn J. Hovde, Julian Huxley, and others. And opinions to the left of theirs were intelligently and moderately advocated by delegates from both English-speaking groups.

As for the final resolution—rejected, after much discussion in caucus, by seven members of the American

Freda Kirchwey is now in Europe, traveling under the auspices of the One World Award Committee, which has sent four Americans to take part in memorial ceremonies in various European countries. Other members of the party are O. John Rogge, American Labor Party candidate for Surrogate; Dr. Bryn J. Hovde, president of the New School for Social Research; and Jay Holmes Smith, executive vice-chairman of the People's World Congress.

In the course of the trip, streets in four foreign cities will be named after the late Fiorello H. LaGuardia. In addition, dedications were made last week-end at a school in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and at a hospital in Foggia, Italy. The Wroclaw conference was attended by members of the One World party. Because of her crowded schedule, Miss Kirchwey was not able to make a complete report on it at this time.

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delegation of twenty-odd, and by four of the thirty-odd Britishers—it was a compromise resulting from many hours of debate in the resolutions commission, the American member of which was Clifford J. Durr. His efforts were acclaimed by signers and non-signers. The resolution, adopted by the unanimous vote of all delegations except those of Britain and the United States, represents genuine concessions by the Communist members, although in the opinion of many of the Americans it is still slanted toward the Soviets.

All agree, however, that the meeting provided a unique chance to meet and talk with Eastern European men and women of high standing in the world of culture, demonstrating both the possibilities and limitations of such intercourse, and all delegates welcomed the decision to continue the organization with Paris as its headquarters. The hope is that it will provide an agency for the exchange of ideas and information, and that future meetings can be arranged where, perhaps, the polemics can be minimized and genuine discussion encouraged.

A word must be added expressing the universal appreciation of the achievement of the Polish committee and the authorities who handled this congress of six hundred delegates from all over Europe, North and South America, and Asia. This they accomplished under the most difficult of conditions, imposed by the near-destruction of Wroclaw. The event is a symbol of the immense courage and energy—as well as the courtesy and friendliness—of this people.

Behind France's Crisis

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, August 30 (By Radio)

AS I WRITE THIS, France is still without a government. All hopes for a quick solution faded late last night when Paul Ramadier drove to the Presidential Palace to decline the job of forming a new Cabinet. Ramadier currently enjoys the reputation of being France's number-one peace-time resistant; last year, while Premier, he weathered the most violent storms in the Cabinet and the Assembly by his sheer physical endurance, sitting untired through lengthy debates that left his adversaries literally worn out. But even Ramadier realizes that the present crisis is far more serious than that of last year; after meeting with the Socialist parliamentary group—which seems sharply divided on the question of a program for the next government—he asked President Auriol kindly to try elsewhere.

Now, former Premier Robert Schuman is trying to assemble a Cabinet. Schuman's prestige has increased since his resignation a month ago, for in his subsequent service as Foreign Minister in the Marie government, he proved by his stand during the Moscow negotiations to be far more of a fighter in defense of the French viewpoint than Georges Bidault.

If Schuman fails to secure the necessary backing, then many observers predict that the President will turn to Edouard Herriot; despite his age and failing health, the Radical Socialist chieftain is considered to be one of the few men who can still rally substantial support.

Whoever finally becomes Premier will soon realize that his Cabinet faces a precarious existence if it is drawn from the "third force" to the exclusion of the Communists. The conservative newspaper, *Le Figaro,* had this to say on the causes of the present crisis: "A striking feature of the situation is its extra-parliamentary aspect. For in the final analysis, it was the combined pressure of various trade-union groups in the Socialist Party and the M. R. P. that . . . cracked the resistance of Paul Reynaud, even though the Assembly had voted him unlimited powers." In short, as *Figaro* significantly remarked, the successful battle against the Reynaud program was fought outside the Assembly by the French workers—"the vassals of Parliament."

No one questions Paul Reynaud's competence as a capitalist economist. When he took over the Ministry of Finance last month, he found a more critical situation than he had expected. He promptly went before the public to propose a series of drastic economic measures—headed by sharp boosts in the prices of bread and milk—that imposed new fiscal burdens on those least able to pay. The working class was quick to react. In many factories, the split between the Confédération Générale du Travail and the Force Ouvrière was healed overnight. Lèon Jouhaux and his colleagues in the Force Ouvriére saw their rank-and-file rapidly drifting away, while alert Socialist leaders realized that continued support of Reynaud would alienate a large section of their already reduced party membership. Even the most "progressive" wing of M. R. P. noted with alarm that Catholic trade unions were veering more and more toward a united front with the C. G. T. and the Force Ouvrière.

The issue, plainly, is no longer simply one of assuring a parliamentary majority for Reynaud's measures. The struggle has moved out of the Assembly and into the streets, where the left, not the trusts, invariably proves stronger in a showdown. France must adopt the most drastic measures to avoid a complete economic collapse. But the French working class will not accept new sacrifices unless it feels that it is participating fully in the orientation and control of the new program for national revival. That is why only a Popular-Front government can insure political and economic stability for France. Since it is hardly likely that Robert Schuman will accept that principle of government, a Cabinet under his leadership would have little more hope of survival than its predecessors.

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The Case of Alger Hiss

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, August 27

THE long-awaited "confrontation" scene before the House Un-American Activities Committee, starring Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers, proved one of the most dramatic and at the same time one of the most disheartening sideshows in recent Washington history. Spectators were jam-packed in the huge caucus room, and hundreds were turned away. Photographers with every type of equipment from mini-cameras to televison sets roamed tirelessly through the hearings. Radio announcers whispered earnestly into microphones, and copy boys hovered about the crowded press tables to carry out "takes" scratched on notepaper. But, spectacle though it was, the familiar, naive "ballyhoo" of past Congressional investigations—as when the midget sat on J. P. Morgan's lap—was lacking. There was something ugly in its place. The old carnival spirit had given way to an atmosphere that seemed somehow European, reminiscent of newsreels of people's courts and party congresses. Nor were the charges the old familiar accusations of stock-market manipulation and fraudulent government contracts. Instead, the air was heavy with the ominous and ultimate charges of modern history: treason, espionage, and insanity.

At the end of the day, none of the charges had been proved or disproved. The committee's relentless questioning of Hiss as to actual dates and details of such matters as apartment leases and the disposal of an old Ford elicited answers characterized by such persistent qualifications and evasions that an objective observer might have concluded that Hiss's claim of innocence had been compromised. Yet the truth is that there were no objective people on the committee's dais; they constituted a court of prosecution as well as of investigation, and their dogged attempts to incriminate the witness might well have moved him to answer with the caution he showed: for Hiss, too, is a lawyer, perhaps more skillful than any on the committee's staff.

Possibly the most significant statement of the day, not so much for what it added to the evidence as for a mood it revealed, was spoken by Chambers in response to a question by Representative Hebert of Louisiana. "I don't hate Mr. Hiss," Chambers replied. "We were close friends, but we were caught in a tragedy of history. Mr. Hiss represents the concealed enemy against whom we are all fighting and I am fighting. I testify against him with remorse and pity. But in a moment of historic jeopardy in which this nation now stands, so help me God, I could not do otherwise."

After nine hours of their testimony, the truth of the phrase "a tragedy of history" was apparent; and both men had been caught up in it, whichever one was lying. If it is true, as Hiss maintained with unshakable insistence, that he is not and has never been a Communist, that he knew Chambers only as a sponging free-lance writer for a short time in the thirties, that his own name and career have been blackened by the wanton charges of a man whose sanity he questions, and that he is being further ruined through the efforts of Republican committeemen like Representative Mundt to discredit such Rooseveltian diplomacy as the Yalta agreement, the China policy, and the United Nations Charter (all of which Hiss helped to author), then he has surely been subjected to a bitterly unfair ordeal.

But if, on the other hand, Hiss was a dues-paying underground Communist, as Chambers states—indeed, a "romantic" Communist of such fervent dedication that he insisted on making an imprudent gift of an automobile "to be used by some poor Communist out west"—then his career is one of great irony as well as tragedy, for he has risen high by his own merits in "bourgeois" life. During his fifteen years of government work, he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of Presidents, Secretaries of State, and Senators. And as a reward, no less a personage than John Foster Dulles procured his election to the $20,000-a-year presidency of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, one of the most notably slow-moving and ponderous organizations in all the field of middle-class philanthropy. To cap the irony, he succeeded in this position that monument of American conservatism, Nicholas Murray Butler.

CHAMBERS'S tragedy is the tragedy of all apostates, and of all whose inner hunger for life, for fraternalism, for a sense of belonging, leads to the acceptance of political or religious absolutes in an age of tragic relativism and the swift obsolescence of all absolutes. His is the tragedy—increasingly familiar in American life—of the middle-class intellect that turns in rage upon all the values of its former habitat; and then, at last, devastated by a sense of disillusionment and loneliness in its adopted framework, returns abjectly to a defense and a worship—even more emotional than the original act of rejection—of the status quo. Since there are so many more in this country who today find themselves caught in some phase or other of Chambers's cycle than in any such Graustarkian dilemma as that involving Hiss, the plight of Chambers is perhaps the more significant.

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Some hard-bitten Communist from the Greek mountains would very likely find it difficult to look upon this conflict between an executive of a conservative foundation and a $25,000-a-year journalist as having any real bearing on the course of the Communist Party or of world revolution. But in the American framework, prospering ex-Communists like Chambers are far from unusual. He is more or less typical, in fact, of a growing group of able journalists who have broken with the Communist Party or with left-wing political theories in general. The fact is that native radical movements, like the revolutionary movements of Czarist Russia, have drawn a disproportionately large number of their intellectuals from middle-class backgrounds—and it is in these terms that Chambers explained to the committee the cause of his own adherence and final break with the party.

He said that his family lived on Long Island, and that his father, a commercial artist, died when he was a child. Once, during his youth, Chambers ran away from home. "I came to Washington and worked as a laborer for a street railway. I didn't want to be brought back." Later, he attended Columbia University, but quit after about two years. Then he went to Europe: "I saw the wreckage of France and Germany, and became awarer of a crisis in Western civilization which society was unable to solve by the usual means. I looked then for unusual means."

He read and was impressed by a syndicalist book by Georges Sorel, "Reflections on Violence." He then faced the dilemma which he told the committee is typical of men who emerge from relatively sheltered backgrounds with but a limited experience of life, and look upon the world's chaos with a sense of guilt and responsibility. "What shall they do? At that crossroads, this evil thing, Communism, lies in wait, with its simple answer. . . ."

Chambers said he broke with the party in 1937, and "determined to come up above ground and re-establish an identity." He said he tried unsuccessfully to persuade Hiss to break also: "I am very fond of Mr. Hiss. He was perhaps my closest friend—certainly the closest friend I ever had in the Communist Party." He told the committee that he got a job on *Time* in 1939, through the influence of a friend, Robert Cantwell. He is now a "convinced"—that is, a converted—Quaker. His writing in *Time* and *Life* has shown an intense preoccupation with theology, and principally with the question of the existence of a primordial, satanic evil in the universe. The mark of his writing and thought upon the magazines—his interest in the thinking of men like Arnold Toynbee and Reinhold Niebuhr, the religious content in cover stories like the one he did on Marian Anderson—have enabled devotees to spot his authorship.

Though he eschewed sensationalism, as he told the committee, Chambers painted brief word pictures of his years as a "faceless man" in the Communist underground, pictures that bring to mind, above all else, the tortured world of the subterranean revolutionaries of nineteenth-century Russian novels, especially those of Dostoievsky. With detailed accusations, he attempted to involve the dapper career man, Hiss, in this background.

The latter, having given his own competent testimony, smiled bitterly and made notes while his antagonist spoke out, in a sad, flat voice, one categorical accusation after another. The same smile had flickered over Chambers's face—his hand had flashed from forehead to chin in the gesture of wiping it off—when Hiss, a short time earlier, had asked the committee to pursue the details of Chambers's life with the same avidity it turned upon his own; specifically, to determine whether Chambers had ever been in a mental institution or had ever been treated for a mental illness—although Hiss added that he had only hearsay information to this effect. When the question was put to Chambers on the stand, he replied, "I have not, period."

THE impact of the hearings as a whole is not symbolic so much as symptomatic—symptomatic of the onrushing tendency of Congressional agencies to deal in scapegoat-hunting and exposés on sensational but essentially inconsequential levels. Meanwhile, the whole vast machinery of the national economy grinds up the remaining purchasing power and rolls toward the smash-up that anybody with even a grade-school knowledge of arithmetic can see before us.

Republican members of the committee like Representative Mundt obviously look upon these hearings as unsurpassed campaign opportunities for the Republican Party. Governor Dewey handed down the line on this two weeks ago, when his spokesman, Herbert Brownell, told reporters that the presence of "Communists in the government" was a more serious issue than inflation, and that Dewey would so regard it in his campaign. Another tip-off on what the "spy" hearings are really being used for appears in the editorial columns of the Washington *Times-Herald*: "There was a perfect understanding between Roosevelt and the Reds—which is the biggest single reason why Communists and Fellow Travelers are so thick and powerful in our government today that only a Dewey-Warren administration can root them out. . . ."

All the accusations and instances of communism in government that the committee is now investigating stem not so much from such sources as Whittaker Chambers's present concept of primordial evil as from that other phase of his explanation which spoke of the sense of guilt and anguish that intelligent men in large numbers felt in the desolate psychological atmosphere of the Depression. If those times come again, the committee is going to have a real job on its hands.

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Yugoslavia: Test of Nerves

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Belgrade, August 26

THE Russians had a field day at the Danube conference just ended in Belgrade. At no other meeting were they in a stronger position to wipe the floor with the Western democracies than they were here. It was not the fault of Sir Charles Peake or of Cavendish Cannon, the British and American representatives. It was simply that the Russians had lined up an overwhelming majority; Vishinsky was in a better position than ever before to make an impressive display of Soviet diplomatic strength.

The Yugoslav press sang loyal paeans to the Soviet representative, though Ales Bebler, the Yugoslav delegate, could hardly have loved him dearly. It was Vishinsky, in fact, who compelled Bebler, by devious means, to stand up and openly reject the British amendment proposing Belgrade as the seat of the future Danube Commission. Contrary to what some observers had expected, Vishinsky had not come here to negotiate with Tito and the Yugoslav leadership. At the same time, it would be wrong to say he had come here merely for the conference. He contributed greatly to "clarification" of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, by a whole series of negative actions. He expressed no desire to see Tito, just as Tito apparently expressed no desire to see him. At Simic's reception, he declined to stay on with his hosts longer than was absolutely necessary for eating dinner, and did not wait for the appearance of champagne and the making of toasts.

How importantly Vishinsky took his propagandist role while in Belgrade may be seen in his decision to get out of bed, during the course of a brief illness, to attend a meeting organized in his honor by the Soviet-Yugoslav Friendship Society. At this affair, he denounced as "naive" anyone who imagined Yugoslavia could follow a course independent of Russia—"and if they persist in this view, they'll soon be disabused." And he recalled the speech in which Stalin had said, "People are immortal"—the inference being that people go on forever, but leaders come and go. He also said that Yugoslavia must follow the high road of Marxism and Leninism hand in hand with the Soviet Union, and that any side paths would only lead to disaster. Then he called on the Soviet-Yugoslav Friendship Society to propagate this idea as hard as it could.

ALEXANDER WERTH has been in Belgrade since the opening of the Yugoslav Communist Party Congress at the end of July. He intends to leave in the near future for a trip through the Balkans.

SINCE the conference, a feeling of uneasiness has grown throughout Yugoslavia. A great contributory factor was the fatal shooting of Colonel General Arso Jovanovitch at the Rumanian border by Yugoslav frontier guards, the capture of Major General Branko Petrichevitch, and the presumed escape of the Rumanian colonel, Vlado Dapchevitch. The latter was a popular figure in the partisan movement and a brother of one of Yugoslavia's war heroes, a general who is believed to have been, for a time, Markos's principal adviser, and who, strangely enough, on the night before the shooting incident was a guest at Simic's party.

The whole episode of the frontier shooting gave rise to the wildest comments and rumors. There was talk of the existence of a grave crisis inside the Yugoslav Party. If a man of Jovanovitch's caliber could have ratted on Tito, the talk went, there must be a grave crisis inside the Yugoslav army, for Jovanovitch had been Tito's chief-of-staff during the war, and only recently attended, as an army delegate, the Yugoslav Communist Party Congress, where he was elected a member of two subcommittees. Here and there, diplomats have also apparently been turning on the Yugoslav government—a possibility that seemed most unlikely back in early July, when Tito could boast of the allegiance of 100 per cent of his diplomats abroad, and when almost 100 per cent of the Yugoslav military students in Russia had repudiated the Cominform, not without risk to themselves and their future studies. Hard on the heels of the shooting, rumors about large-scale purgings in the Yugoslav army and government were launched with a remarkable unanimity by both Cominform newspapers in Eastern Europe and the sensation-seeking press of Western Europe and America. All this was pure guesswork; so far, there is no indication of a serious split in the Yugoslav army and Aleksandar Rankovitch appears to be holding firm control over the secret police.

But there is one remarkable theory connected with the Jovanovitch case that bears an element of plausibility: that Ana Pauker flew unexpectedly to Bucharest to greet Jovanovitch upon his arrival. While it is not always safe to put two and two together, the coincidence was striking; and there is no doubt that if Jovanovitch had escaped to Rumania, instead of being shot in making the attempt, he would have been used as a possible nucleus for setting up some sort of "Yugoslav Liberation

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Committee," either now or later. The official line on Jovanovitch is that he was an "isolated deserter," but nobody is quite sure about anything now.

THERE was a very significant editorial in yesterday's edition of *Borba*, the Yugoslav Communist Party newspaper. Some say it was written, or at any rate inspired, by Tito himself. It throws some long-observed conventions to the winds, especially when it says, "It would be stupid and hypocritical to pretend that relations between Communist parties are one thing and relations between states another." Yet this is just the kind of myth which was promulgated all through July and August. *Borba* then admits that Yugoslavia is faced with "the greatest difficulties," and the greatest of all, as *Borba* explains, is that nobody will listen to the Yugoslavs, who insist they are loyal allies of Russia and good Socialists, and nobody will discuss anything with them in a comradely spirit. They are being boycotted. All their explanations are falling on deaf ears.

Borba maintains that "the leaders of [foreign] Communist parties who are . . . organizing a vile, slanderous campaign against Yugoslavia refuse to see the harm they are doing to the democratic anti-imperialist front." It then says that the foreign Communists have now undertaken "the hopeless task" of breaking up the unity of the Yugoslav Communist Party. The newspaper insists that the party remains solidly united, "apart from some weaklings . . . and some careerists with personal ambitions." After dismissing as foul libel the Rumanian assertion that Jovanovitch was "criminally murdered," *Borba* says it is certain that Communist leaders will drop the weapon of slander, so unworthy of Communists.

Ana Pauker—as indeed is hinted in the Yugoslav protest note to Rumania—is considered the moving spirit of the anti-Yugoslav campaign (with Moscow in the background, of course). She made no secret of her loathing for the Yugoslav leaders while in Belgrade.

IT IS not easy to say how it will all turn out. For the Yugoslav leaders, there is only one simple solution: make peace with Russia. But the Russians will not talk to them. The alternatives, then, are, firstly, to adopt a cautious, half-hearted, and dangerous policy—dangerous both internally and internationally—of turning away from the Eastern bloc and toward the West; and, secondly, to enter an indefinite period of isolation, without a friend anywhere. The more heroic or romantic type of Yugoslav—possibly including Tito—might choose this second course as a last resort. The peasantry might be used as the backbone for such an isolationist Yugoslavia, but this would require a great deal of explaining, and the explaining would inevitably have to adopt a somewhat anti-Soviet tinge.

As for the Soviet leaders, the task of adopting any new policy is particularly difficult in that the Communists, especially the soldiers, have been conditioned to believe that the Red Army is the world's mightiest army and the Soviet Union the mightiest and finest country in the world and, in the long run, right in everything.

This invites the obvious conclusion that Tito is no match for Stalin. But the real question today is: What support does Tito really enjoy? Perhaps if it were made clear that he is defending Yugoslavia against excessive Soviet interference, he could count on more open support, especially from the peasants. But he is doing the very opposite. He is trying to make the Russians take him back into the fold. Ultimately, the Yugoslav army will decide—the army that has always played a decisive role in Yugoslav history. In the meantime, there is no evidence of any grave crisis yet. But the Yugoslav army is dependent on armaments from Russia and Czechoslovakia.

At the same time, however, all stories published abroad regarding mass arrests, purges, and so forth are based on supposition and guesswork. And the stories of seventeen—or is it fifty-seven?—divisions ready to march in from Rumania are pure moonshine.

From the standpoint of the West, the situation is exceedingly delicate and all false moves must carefully be avoided. But the complete lack of encouragement given the Yugoslav government by the West seems shortsighted; it could certainly strengthen the inclination to surrender to Moscow.

THERE is one more incalculable element: Hebrang and Zujovic. According to rumor-mongering Belgrade—and few cities are more rumor-mongering—Hebrang and Zujovic might become the center of an obvious deal between Belgrade and Moscow. They are Moscow's protégés and Tito's prisoners. Could they, on Moscow's instructions, make peace with Tito? Could Tito agree to this course, as the least of many evils and despite all the vilification these two gentlemen underwent at the Yugoslav Communist Congress? It seems exceedingly unlikely that they could re-emerge as members of the government after that. It would mean a terrible loss of face to Tito and virtually end his regime. But they still remain cards that Moscow and/or Tito might play. For the present, however, Moscow is refusing to engage in any game and is, instead, engaged in a great war of nerves against Yugoslavia.

The great question is, how strong are Tito's nerves and how strong are the nerves of the average Yugoslavian? If the war of nerves was directed from the West, it would be simple. As it is directed from the Soviet Union—that paragon of all virtues, according to year-long Yugoslav propaganda—it creates some difficult considerations. This is one of the most curious psycho-political situations the world has ever seen.

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The Meaning of Liberty

BY FRANK BOWEN EVANS

THERE was a sharp, quick battle over the meaning of liberty last month. It concerned the intent of the Thomas committee, as reported in the New York *Star*, to begin an inquisition in the near future of university teachers and liberal publications. J. Alvin Kugelmass, a Washington reporter, wrote in the *Star* on August 16 that "from a source close to the chief investigator of the Un-American Committee, Robert E. Stripling, the *Star* [has] learned that many ranking professors at such universities [and colleges] as Columbia, Yale, Harvard, N. Y. U., Dartmouth, C. C. N. Y., Duke, . . . North Carolina, . . . Pennsylvania, and Princeton . . . will be subpoenaed to testify at both secret and public hearings." The committee's investigators, Mr. Kugelmass said, are already checking textbooks and the affiliations of teachers. Then he added: "The second and likely the most ambitious phase of the forthcoming . . . probes is expected to break this winter, and will include such magazines as the *New Republic* . . . and *The Nation*."

It is possible that Mr. Kugelmass—or his informant—may have been seeing things under the bed, since no other Washington correspondent corroborated his story. But it would be unwise to make such a surmise until the Thomas committee plays out its hand. Suffice to say that the report bears all the earmarks of accuracy: a hooplah investigation of colleges and magazines is precisely the kind of thing in which the committee glories. At any rate, the mere hint of such an examination of educational institutions led Dwight D. Eisenhower, whose Columbia University led all the rest on the list of those supposedly slated for probing, to tell the *Star* angrily, by telephone from Denver, that "universities are the cornerstone of democracy, and I defy anyone to find them otherwise." It was tantamount to saying, "Just start something, Mr. Thomas."

ONLY events will tell if the *Star's* forecast was correct. If it was, then the committee's lust for headlines, klieg lights, and "mystery" witnesses may erupt into an all-out attack on freedom of thought and expression that will make its previous efforts seem pale indeed. In any event, liberals must be prepared to fight for their beliefs now, before it is too late. Otherwise, they will take a beating from the Thomas committee on the issue of freedom of thought—the most precious heritage of our Jeffersonian tradition.

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Some perspective is necessary for understanding the central questions involved at a moment like this. What is liberty? How have we come by it? And what are its outer limits, particularly in a time when "security" is also to be guarded? Let us look to history.

The problem is at least two thousand years old. In the fifth century B. C., democratic Athens fought the long-drawn-out Peloponnesian War with authoritarian Sparta. During this war, in an immortal oration honoring the Athenian dead, the statesman-general Pericles put the definition of freedom under law as eloquently as it has been stated in all literature:

> There is no exclusiveness in our public life [he said], and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for the authorities and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.
>
> The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas other men [he is alluding to the Spartans] are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection.

Shortly after these words were spoken, the precarious experiment of the democratic Greek city-state floundered and collapsed. Not for some fifteen hundred years did there again begin the slow evolution of the democratic state. Then, by placing limitations on the kingly power in emergent national states, by the institution of parliaments, by the intellectual ferment of the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation, by the invention of the printing press and the discovery of America, by the economic dynamic of the Industrial Revolution—mankind, pushed and pulled by all these forces, undertook the long march toward individualism and free government.

Very early in the process came the British Magna Carta of 1215, which forced King John to submit to limitations of his prerogatives. Slowly, there emerged the

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other institutions of representative government—through bloody civil wars and under the reigns of the tolerable Tudors, the intolerable Stuarts, and the dictatorial Cromwell—culminating finally in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which established the authority of Parliament over that of the throne. The English Bill of Rights and Toleration Acts followed immediately in 1689.

In the same era, the British courts ceased to be agents of the king's policy and became instruments of justice under the common law. England's judges gradually formulated those vital procedural safeguards termed "due process."

THE young nation in the New World inherited from England the basic structure of the institutions of liberty and justice, and elaborated on them. We have never achieved or claimed perfection, but we can boast that we have kept alive the understanding of liberty and sought to institutionalize it.

When the American colonies separated from England, the doctrines of liberty were written into the Constitution only after considerable struggle. There were, among the Founding Fathers, men whose concern over the sanctity of property outweighed their trust in liberty under law. In one of the sorriest episodes in our history, the Federalist Administration of John Adams passed the repressive Alien and Sedition Acts, under which many outspoken Republican critics of Federalist policies were fined and jailed.

The Republicans fought back. Their leaders, Madison and Jefferson, wrote the protesting manifestos called the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. And the majority of the population, with the tyranny of George III still fresh in mind, stood by the libertarian ideals that had spurred the American Revolution. In the election of 1800, the Federalists were repudiated, and Jefferson was elected President. He almost immediately set free the men who had been jailed under the offensive acts, and the acts themselves were soon repealed by Congress. By the time of his second inaugural, Jefferson was able to say, "If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments to the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN faced the problem of waging an efficient war without doing permanent damage to civil rights. He believed the emergency critical enough to warrant extraordinary measures, and he exercised what he interpreted to be his Constitutional right to suspend, for certain types of cases, the writ of *habeas corpus*. This done, a few agitators, who had openly propagandized young men to evade or desert from military service, were tried by military tribunals and imprisoned. Once the emergency was over, Lincoln immediately restored the normal processes of justice in the civil courts.

Chief Justice Taney, like some others, never forgave the President for what he regarded as an unconstitutional trespass of judicial domain. But Taney judged Lincoln too harshly. The gaunt and humble President, an astute lawyer and philosopher, fully understood the nature of the dilemma. "Is there in all republics," he once asked, "an inherent and fatal weakness? Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?" His own record of leadership gives us the answer: No; liberty and strength can be accommodated, one to the other, if wisdom and charity are at the helm.

In World War I, we faced the same problem as during the Civil War. This time, the situation was shamefully handled by Attorney General Palmer. Under loosely drawn espionage and sedition statutes, several thousand people were tried and hundreds jailed. One man's offense—typical of many others—was that he had advocated financing the war by taxes rather than bonds. For this bit of "subversion," he received a twenty-year sentence.

Unsullied by the shoddy actions of the era are the words spoken in its course by Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Brandeis. Said Holmes, in his classic formula for free speech in the Schenck trial of 1919:

> The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree.

In the same case, Holmes showed why freedom of speech cannot be absolute: "The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic." The point has been made in another way by some wit, unknown to me, who declared, "Your liberty to swing your arm ends where my nose begins." This, in plain English, is the crux of the liberal tradition that goes back to John Milton and John Stuart Mill. When a man's actions become harmful to the community, the community is justified in curtailing his liberty. But not before.

It is being said, and with justification, that the present Supreme Court is dodging the responsibility of facing and deciding the Constitutional issues involved in the Thomas committee's activities, the black-listing of far-left pressure groups, and the persecution—direct and indirect—of Communist Party members and fellow travelers. Though these problems must be met—and soon—the high court has so far refused to review the generally non-libertarian decisions of lower federal courts.

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Nevertheless, the Mill-Holmes formula is now the law of the land, and the courts, as a whole, work by its pattern. But while they have gone forward to nourish and extend the arms of the tree of liberty, the lower house of Congress has continually hacked away at its roots and trampled the fruit known as "due process." I do not wish to challenge here the motives—good and bad—of the Thomas committee. But I think it fair to say that the committee does not understand the meaning or the history of liberty, or the formula by which security may be guaranteed without assassinating freedom. The committee's leaders have proved themselves mentally, emotionally, and technically inept—completely unfit for the delicate job the House continues to entrust to them.

Still, the committee could play a constructive role. But its nature and purposes would have to be altered. It should be obvious that legislative committees are not suited for administrative functions, but for deliberation—the making of policy—and for frequent review of the administrative branch to see that the policy is being carried out. The Un-American Committee is in no way competent to ferret out, catch, indict, try, and sentence every subversive individual. The notion that it can do so is patently absurd, and it is the fundamental fallacy that underlies the entire messy picture. The Department of Justice, the FBI, and the courts are at hand, already established by the Congress itself, to search out criminals and deal justice to them.

What Congress could do—and this important—is to check periodically on the competence of the government agencies that should properly be investigating and prosecuting those who offer a "clear and present danger" to our democracy. If the agencies are ignoring or violating the mandate of Congress, it is Tom Clark and J. Edgar Hoover who should be called on the carpet. This is the formula of reason and wisdom; it is in line with the wise and tested counsel of Pericles, Milton, Mill, Jefferson, Lincoln, Holmes, and many hundreds of others who knew what liberty meant.

It is the way in which we may preserve security, justice, *and* liberty.

A New Balance for Europe

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

II. Germany Under E. R. P.

THE war had been over for more than two years before the makers of American foreign policy came to realize that the recovery of England and Western Europe was essential to the welfare and even the security of the United States; and it was three years before they understood that Western Europe could not recover if Germany remained an economic desert. The Marshall Plan for Western Europe and the Marshall Plan for western Germany, therefore, constitute an indivisible unit.

But the situation confronting the Economic Cooperation Administration in England and Western Europe differs radically from that in Germany. Statistics do not tell the whole story. The fact is that the German standard of living today is lower than at the time of the Napoleonic wars. Most Germans, with the exception of farmers, still subsisted, until three months ago, on a diet of no more than 1,500 calories daily. Recently, this ration has been stepped up by 300 to 400 calories, but it is still insufficient for a real industrial recovery. (After long debate, UNRRA dieticians finally arrived at 2,750 calories as the minimum daily requirement for the average adult.) There has been no significant reconstruction of urban areas destroyed by bombing; housing conditions are the worst in Western Europe, while production of consumer goods is still negligible.

Germany as a whole imported one-fifth of its foodstuffs before the war; western Germany, however, imported a good two-fifths. Today, western Germany, which formerly depended heavily on provinces now under Russian or Polish domination, has approximately 10,000,000 more people than before the war, among them deportees from the former German provinces in the east, and from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania.

Figures on German production, trade, and living standards published in the "Survey of the Economic Situation and Prospects of Europe,"* serve to illuminate the contrast between post-war Germany, on the one hand, and England and Western Europe, on the other. The survey, as I reported last week, states that "outside Germany, the 1938 level of industrial output had been virtually restored by the last quarter of 1946." Then it continues:

> The industrial production of Germany, on the other hand (as evidenced by the three Western zones of

* United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, Geneva, 1948.

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occupation for which statistics are available), failed to rise significantly above the level of roughly one-third of pre-war, reached by the last quarter of 1946. The production of Germany in the major investment-goods industries (iron and steel, engineering, building, and construction) averaged only 22.7 per cent of pre-war in the twelve months ending with the third quarter of 1947.

In regard to foreign trade, the survey reports: "Measured in 1938 prices, total imports [in Europe] in 1947 were about 70 per cent and total exports about 64 per cent of the 1938 volume." Germany's total exports "were only 9 per cent of . . . pre-war, and its imports 18 per cent."

On living standards: "Commodities available for home use, calculated per head of population for total Europe excluding Germany, 96; but for Germany, 35 [1938 level equals 100]."

THE integration of Germany with Western Europe will be immensely difficult, owing to the far higher economic level already achieved by England and the other Western countries. The catastrophic state of German economy is, then, a retarding factor in Western Europe's struggle for economic independence, at least to the point where export surpluses are at hand to pay for imports of food and raw materials. The survey is most informative on this point:

> Intra-European trade in manufactured goods . . . has declined much more sharply than exports of manufactures to non-European countries. This shift results only in minor part from an actual reorientation of export trade by the principal European manufacturing countries; *the dominant factor is the changed status of Germany in the European economy.* In contrast to the United Kingdom and other Western European industrial countries, which sent the greater part of their pre-war exports to oversea countries, the major portion of Germany's manufactured exports . . . was directed to other European countries. Since the war, the virtually complete lack of German exports . . . has had an impact primarily on intra-European trade. [Italics mine.]

The survey further shows that two-thirds of the total intra-European trade before the war was accounted for by the United Kingdom and Germany trading between themselves and as exporters and importers to and from other European countries. Small European countries oriented their economic structure toward Britain, the prime consumer of European goods. The ability of the United Kingdom to pay for its European imports came from its large earnings from overseas investments and from shipping.

> Germany [the survey states] had a large surplus of exports to most other European countries, which they were able to settle out of their own favorable trade balances with the United Kingdom, and which permitted Germany in turn to maintain a large surplus of imports from oversea suppliers of raw materials. Many other European countries, in addition to their import surpluses from Germany, also had import surpluses from overseas, paid for in part from their sales to the United Kingdom. Broadly speaking, the pattern of trade and of trade settlements in Europe thus rested on two major supports, both of which have now disappeared.

Europe must adjust itself to new conditions. For one thing, the foreign investments of European countries have become so reduced that the interest on them can finance but a fraction of European imports. For another, trade with Eastern Europe cannot continue on the same basis as before the war, because the states inside the Soviet orbit have begun, to a greater or less degree, to develop their own industries and to process large quantities of raw materials at home. Finally, Germany, with no foreign investments, will be a debtor nation for many years to come. It will be much harder hit than the rest of the West by the industrialization of Eastern Europe. Formerly an economic unit, its commerce was adjusted to an exchange between its western regions and its former eastern provinces and the present Russian zone. For Germany, therefore, the postwar situation in Europe implies not only an adjustment but a *total transformation.* If Europe needs Germany to overcome the present stalemate in its recovery, western Germany needs Europe for its very existence.

IN THE present grave crisis, Germany is, to all intents and purposes, a nation without a government. In its participation in the E. C. A., it is represented by the Western occupying authorities. It has somewhat the status of a semi-colony; this is in itself an obstacle to reconstruction, which requires the willing cooperation of the German population. In all other countries of Western Europe, the United States has sovereign governments to deal with; it cannot give orders concerning what is to be done with Marshall Plan funds. In Germany, the situation is different. Here, the United States is at the same time the source of economic aid, the director of its distribution, and the real governmental power responsible for the success or failure of the effort.

There can be no argument that those who direct American policy for and in Germany are attempting to rebuild the country on a basis of private capitalism. Whatever political obstacles they may face, and perhaps accept, in Britain and France, none will be allowed to interfere in Germany. There, in a laboratory operated under strict controls, the value of private enterprise as a means of restoring a shattered economy will be fully tested.

It is possible to predict the results in advance. The American authorities and their business advisers may be able to register some initial success; in the long run,

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however, they will not be able to overcome, through normal capitalist methods, the factors described in the survey which demand the socialist reorganization of Germany's economy in the framework of an integrated Europe. The war has completed the undermining of European capitalism; in Germany, its foundations had been demolished twenty years earlier.

At the beginning of the world economic crisis in 1929, German big business no longer considered it possible to operate within the framework of democratic institutions, and therefore supported the Nazi counter-revolution. The war has further sharpened social divisions, effectively liquidating the middle class which, under Hitler, had experienced an artificial and temporary recovery based upon his vast war economy. All this illusory well-being has been wiped out, together with the possibility of restoring the economic relationships on which it rested. It is sheer self-indulgence to imagine that a revival of free enterprise with democratic institutions is still possible in Germany. But this does not mean that an effort to accomplish it will not be made; indeed, the composition of the American administration in Germany, as well as the political trend now dominant in the United States, make it all but certain that such an effort would be made.

This means that American policy will encounter the resistance of large sections of the German people who know how completely big capital collaborated with the Nazis; furthermore, such a policy will encounter violent opposition in the Western European countries, France above all. It is hard enough to convince the French that German recovery is necessary on any terms. They fear, with good reason, that, under the American-aid program, the rebuilding of Germany will be directed by the same groups of heavy industrialists who supported Hitler even before his seizure of power, who worked with him in organizing the Nazi war economy and in penetrating and controling the economies of other countries, and who collaborated with him in the prosecution of the war. If these men are allowed to run German industry with the financial backing of the United States, the overwhelming majority of the French people will say that the Marshall Plan will, as the Communists claim, lay the basis for an aggressive, powerful, and militaristic Germany on their borders. Once established, this belief would end forever the hope of a democratic Western union—or a European union of any sort.

Such fears can only be overcome by a decisive change in the social structure of Germany; and this is only possible if the rebuilding of German industry, and above all, of heavy industry in the Ruhr, is carried out, not on the basis of the old property relations, but on the basis of socialization; in other words, if German reconstruction is accomplished through democratic socialist planning. Some British officials are beginning to be aware of this. The London *Tribune* has recently published an important article: Germany—a New Phase, by John

London *Express*—Canada Wide

With this cartoon, David Low records what he finds on returning to Britain from his vacation in the United States.

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Hynd, M.P., formerly Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Charge of German Affairs. Mr. Hynd, analyzing the six-power agreement on the future of western Germany, wrote:

> Consider the Germans' own proposals, carried unanimously at the recent meeting at Düsseldorf of the Prime Ministers of all the western Länder, together with the elected representatives of Berlin, Hamburg, and Bremen. They advised the abolition of private capitalism in the Ruhr coal industry, and its replacement by a system of public ownership, and, still more important, proposed the international control of the heavy industries, not of Germany alone, but of Western Europe. Is that not a sound, democratic proposition, as compared with the six powers' proposal that would leave all other countries' coal and steel industries entirely in their own hands, and subject only Germany's to rigid control of allocations as between export and internal use? If we ask ourselves which of the two ideas is the more compatible with Western union, the closer integration of Western European economy, or with full German participation, there can only be one answer.

Mr. Hynd's position is very close to that of Léon Blum, who regards the socialization of the Ruhr industries as a decisive step toward the coordination of Germany with Western Europe.

I remarked at the outset that it took the makers of American policy three years to recognize the relationship of German recovery to European recovery. But from that point, it is still a long way to a policy which takes into account the basic social trends of Europe, so different from those now prevailing in the United States. As E. C. A. is now directed, every sign indicates that American aid will succeed partly in restoring the German economic wasteland but that nothing will be done to reorganize Germany's shattered socio-economic system.

If Western Europe and Germany are to survive as an independent third force in a time of sharpening conflict between America and Russia, this reorganization is essential. As long as American policy fails to realize that world peace can have no stronger guarantee than a democratic, Socialist Germany integrated in a planned European economy, it will be unable to overcome the crisis in Germany and Europe which brought the Marshall Plan into existence. The threat of war will not be ended until this truth is understood in Washington.

Revolt in Colorado

BY WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

Denver, Colorado, August 25

TWO years ago, Colorado was one of the most politically hopeless states in America. Its four Republican Congressmen echoed the voice of the National Association of Manufacturers, while the Democratic party, notably in Denver, where it was controled by the Stapleton machine, provided little alternative for the liberal voter.

Today, Colorado is one of the few states in which there are serious prospects for unseating Republican Congressmen this fall. This startling change in political fortune began in the spring of 1946, when a group of determined young leaders laid plans for the Congressional by-elections to come. They were so successful in checking the G. O. P. tide that Colorado turned out to be the only state which ousted both a Republican Governor and a Republican Congressman in 1946, filling both offices with proved liberals.

Recent trends in Colorado can largely be attributed to the appearance of two new political personalities, the formation of an increasingly effective labor-liberal alliance, and, most of all, to the entry into politics of young veterans who are taking seriously the work of precinct caucusing.

One of their two new leaders is John A. Carroll, who currently sits for the First District (city and county of Denver) in the House of Representatives. A native of Denver and a former district attorney, Carroll began his bid for a Congressional seat in 1946 by defeating the Stapleton-machine candidate in the Democratic primaries. Then he drew the Republican incumbent, Dean Gillespie, into a public debate, attacking his antiquated ideas so effectively that Gillespie became the district's laughing stock. After his election, Carroll became one of the most active and able of the freshmen in Congress. He voted down the line for liberal legislation, and led the floor fight against the Mundt-Nixon bill and the Rizley "gas-steal" bill. Despite the fact that huge sums have been earmarked for Denver by the Republican high command, and by Seventeenth Street—Denver's financial center—to defeat Carroll, only an overwhelming national G. O. P. landslide can prevent his return to Congress.

Paired with Carroll is Eugene Cervi, the former Democratic state chairman. He is now locked in a bitter primary fight for the Senate nomination with Senator Edwin C. Johnson. "Big Ed," a notorious isolationist, has

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something of a liberal reputation on domestic and, particularly, labor issues. Yet his record in the Eightieth Congress was generally indistinguishable from that of his dyed-in-the-wool Republican sidekick, Eugene D. Millikin. Not only did Johnson vote for some of the more crippling provisions of the Taft-Hartley bill, but he introduced the bill to deprive striking railroad workers of their seniority.

Gene Cervi comes by his liberalism naturally. He was born in the Centralia coal fields of southern Illinois, where his uncle was recently killed in a mine disaster. His father, still an active member of the hod-carriers local in Denver, was an old-time Socialist and young Cervi is named after Eugene Debs. (Indeed, all of the children were named for revolutionary leaders, until Mother Cervi called a halt with her fifth child, and the rest were named after saints.) A former newspaperman who now puts out a first-rate financial newsletter, Gene is a short, stout man in his early forties. He reminds one a great deal of the late Fiorello LaGuardia, though less in physical characteristics than in his personal integrity and his capacity for translating the aspirations of ordinary people into a concrete political program.

The growing strength of Cervi in his fight against Johnson is a good index of the rout of the Old Guard in the Democratic party. When Cervi decided to run this spring, a private poll revealed that he had the support of less than 5 per cent of the voters. In Colorado, 20 per cent of the vote in a state party convention is mandatory for appearance on the primary ballot. Even the most ardent Cervi supporters shook their heads and said that he couldn't make it.

THE first decisive test came at the state convention in June, when the party named its national committeeman in a contest between incumbent Barney Whatley and Byron Rogers, Denver county chairman and an avowed Johnson man. By some brazen—and all too familiar—parliamentary tactics, the Old Guard elected Rogers. Whatley was already on the platform congratulating Rogers when, from the balcony, a group of young men and women—who had faithfully attended precinct caucuses to gain the right to go as Denver delegates—started roaring for a recount. The chant was taken up by the Pueblo delegation. After an hour of bedlam, the chairman finally acknowledged the right of the two delegations to be polled, district by district. The final tally revealed that Whatley had won handily—a major victory for the Cervi forces.

A month later, the Denver county convention met to instruct its delegates to the state designating convention. Once more, the youthful Cervi supporters flocked to the precinct caucuses, and then, at the convention, working for the first time as an organized bloc, succeeded in putting through a motion to divide votes evenly between Cervi and Johnson. This canny move was headlined by the Denver *Post* as a "Smashing Cervi Victory." With the sizeable block of Denver votes, Cervi was able to corral twice as many as he needed to appear on the ballot.

The third major test of strength came on August 1 at the State Labor Political Assembly, the annual convention of the state A. F. of L. and independent Colorado unions held for the purpose of making political indorsements. Johnson had never before failed to win an indorsement from this body, and Jimmie Brownlow, top Coloradoan in the national organization, flew in from Washington to see that "Big Ed" got the nod again. Moreover, Johnson had the backing of state A. F. of L. leaders and the national support of the Machinists and the Railway Brotherhoods. Once more, the rank-and-file revolt foiled the plans of the Old Guard. The state Machinists, openly, and the railway unions, covertly, defied national leadership and, working with new young leaders in the A. F. of L., voted for an equal indorsement for Cervi and Johnson by the thumping margin of 135-62, a course later followed by the C. I. O.-P. A. C.

IT IS difficult to say at this juncture whether Cervi will be able to pile up enough big-city votes in the primaries on September 14 to overcome Johnson's edge in the conservative rural areas. But win or lose, the fight for Gene Cervi has unleashed new forces and brought forth new political talent which should shortly be able to remake the Democratic party in Colorado and provide leadership for the whole Rocky Mountain region. This latter point is exceedingly important, for Colorado, with the largest city and the largest Congressional representation in the region, tends to set the political pace for the whole area.

Elsewhere in Colorado, the picture is equally bright. In the third Congressional District (southeastern Colorado), J. Edgar Chenoweth, spokesman in the House for the sugar trust and the mining interests, faces the fight of his political life from John Marsalis, Pueblo's district attorney. Led by the C. I. O. Steelworkers, the labor groups in Pueblo have worked out one of the finest political labor coalitions in the country.

On the western slope, Wayne Aspinall, who succeeded Cervi as state chairman, is conceded a better-than-even chance of unseating the conservative stockman, Robert Rockwell. Aspinall, a good campaigner, had a 100 per cent pro-labor voting record in the state legislature. Only in the Second Congressional District (northeast Colorado), where the vote is primarily rural, are the Republicans confident of victory. But even there, William Hill could be upset by George Bickle, a progressive Longmont editor who was formerly National Youth administrator for Colorado. Bickle will be aided by the strong Democratic state ticket, which will be headed by liberal Governor W. Lee Knous, who appears certain of re-election.

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Swedish Politics and Economics

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

II. Austerity or Inflation?

SWEDEN, like the United States and, indeed, most other countries, is today suffering from a degree of inflation that offers a grave threat to economic stability.

Yet it is doubtful whether there will be much discussion of the subject during the present political campaign, which will culminate in a general election on September 19. For while the government is certainly open to criticism for doing too little, too late, to check inflation, the opposition parties have forfeited the right to attack it on this score. They also have been and are reluctant to prescribe the rather bitter medicine required to cure the disease.

When the fighting stopped in Europe, Sweden's financial and economic position was exceedingly strong. Gold and foreign-exchange reserves had been built up during the war, and the country's productive capacity was greater than in 1939. On the other hand, the heavy armament program, which the country had undertaken to discourage Nazi aggression, had swollen national purchasing power at a time when severe curtailment of imports had greatly reduced the volume of goods available for industrial and personal consumption. Thus, in the summer of 1945, stocks of both raw materials and consumer goods were very depleted.

To fill empty shelves, and to absorb excess purchasing power, the government decided to open wide the doors to imports. At the same time, fearing an early post-war recession, it adopted an easy money policy, encouraging industry to expand, and embarked on a large housing program. Generous credits were also given to a number of European countries which had suffered from the war, including Sweden's Scandinavian neighbors and Britain. This was a very helpful contribution toward reconstruction, but it meant that Sweden was selling mainly on credit to soft-currency countries while buying for cash from the United States and other hard-currency nations.

There was no recession, and industry continued to boom, purchasing power to expand. Swedish consumers exhibited a tremendous appetite for the foreign goods of which they had been deprived for six years. American automobiles, nylons, cigarettes, and all sorts of other articles poured into the country. Meanwhile, American prices were rising and that threatened Sweden's hitherto successful stabilization policy. To provide an antidote, the government decided in July, 1946, to revalue the currency. That made foreign goods cheaper in terms of kröner, and so helped to keep the internal price level down. But it also encouraged still greater imports and, by making Swedish goods more expensive in terms of other currencies, served to check exports.

It was not surprising, therefore, that, during 1946, Sweden incurred a mounting deficit in its international accounts and that, by the end of the year, its gold and foreign-exchange reserves were beginning to melt rather rapidly. In December, Gunnar Myrdal, the distinguished economist who was then Minister of Commerce, publicly suggested a restriction of imports. Nothing was done immediately, but his proposal warned importers that the bars might be put up before long and led them to redouble their efforts to secure foreign goods. Thus, when, in March, 1947, the government finally decided that imports must be limited, huge orders had been placed, and the total trade deficit for 1947 was much greater than for 1946. As a result, Sweden's total foreign-exchange reserves, which in December, 1945, stood at 2,782,000,000 kröner, fell in two years to 724,000,000.

THE present policy of the government is to restrict imports to an amount that can be offset by current exports, net shipping receipts, and other sources of foreign income. Thanks to drastic cuts in imports, particularly from the hard-currency countries, and an expanding trend in exports, the situation now appears to be in hand. However, domestic production, although it is showing a healthy growth, cannot compensate for the reduction in foreign supplies. Consequently, the total volume of goods available for consumption has been sharply diminished, while total purchasing power, fed by wage increases, higher social-security payments, and boom profits, continues to grow. According to an economic survey for 1948, published recently by the official economic-research institute, the gap between disposable income this year and the available supply of goods is likely to be around one billion kröner. So great a difference, equal, as it is, to about 5 per cent of the net national income in 1947, is bound to exert a strong inflationary pressure on prices.

A remedy for this situation might be found in austerity measures akin to those adopted in Britain. But the government has been reluctant to undertake such a program. The budget, it is true, already shows a large surplus. Increased taxes on property and the higher ranges of income were imposed last year and, more re-

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cently, a few excise taxes, notably one on gasoline, have been introduced. Measures have also been taken to check the business boom by restricting private investments, and expenditure on housing is being cut. Independent economists, however, believe that more direct methods of reducing consumption are required, and many of them are advocating restoration of the war-time purchase taxes which, with the enthusiastic support of all parties, were abolished at the beginning of 1947.

Neither the government nor any of the opposition parties appear to be prepared to sponsor this proposal. Leaders of the Peoples' Party to whom I spoke while in Stockholm a few weeks ago were strongly opposed to anything of the kind. They said, in effect, that any addition to the present budget surplus is politically impracticable. Nor did they favor higher interest rates, another disinflationary measure supported by some economists. One of them said to me that a better remedy would be stricter control of investment, with a view to reducing the present competition between capital-goods and consumption-goods industries for scarce labor and materials. If a change in government produced a more confident atmosphere, he suggested, better cooperation from business was to be expected.

When the elections are over, it is quite conceivable that the government, whatever its complexion may then be, will tackle the task of closing the inflationary gap more energetically. But it seems a pity that party leaders have not had the courage to put the facts before the country now. During the great depression, the Swedes revolted against the idea that the state was helpless in the face of "natural" economic forces and indorsed the policy of using the national budget as a tool to moderate the swings of the trade cycle. But if fiscal planning is to be employed to control deflationary forces, it must be wielded with no less vigor against inflationary forces. Otherwise, when it is needed again to check the onslaught of depression, its edge may have become blunted. The Swedes, who are politically mature and economically literate, would surely appreciate this argument if it were put to them authoritatively. And, as a self-disciplined people, they can be counted upon to accept whatever disagreeable doses of austerity are prescribed, once they are convinced that this is the right medicine.

LAST week, in the first of these articles, I referred to evidence that the Swedish Social Democratic Party has lost ground during the past four years, and quoted a recent Gallup poll which indicated it might gather no more than 42 per cent of the votes cast in the coming election. Such a result would leave it still by far the largest of the Swedish parties, but might mean that its Parliamentary strength would be insufficient to carry on the government without assurances of support from some other group. The possibility of alternative administration is, therefore, now being actively canvassed in Sweden.

It is obvious that no one of the three opposition parties to the right—the Conservatives, the Peoples' Party, and the Farmers' Union—will come within sight of an independent majority since the largest of them, the Peoples' Party, commands the allegiance of less than a quarter of the electorate. A coalition of the three is possible, but not probable. The Conservatives and the Peoples' Party have not too much in common, apart from a dislike of the Social Democrats. Conservatives suspect that the Peoples' Party has become infected with collectivist views: they distrust the quality of its anti-socialism. Members of the latter repay the compliment by avowing their distaste for an alliance with reaction, a move which would certainly tend to repel some of the recruits to their party. The third opposition party, the Farmers' Union, is not a particularly doctrinaire organization: it is, rather, a pressure group whose function is to further agricultural interests in Parliament. In the thirties, it participated in a coalition government under Social Democratic leadership, and it might easily do so again. But a deal between the Social Democrats and the Peoples' Party is also in the cards.

Whatever government rules in Sweden after September 19, we may be sure of one thing: there will be no major swerve from the broad "middle way" which the country has long followed. No conceivable Swedish government would attempt to hand back any of the socialized industries to private enterprise or to tamper with the social-security system which has been painstakingly constructed over the past thirty years. Nor would it consider abandoning economic planning in favor of a return to *laissez-faire* methods. For the Swedish people have made it unmistakably plain that they want these things; that, however much they may grumble on occasion, they are wedded to their system of a controled, mixed economy. Consequently, right-wing and center politicians, opposed to collectivism as they may be in theory, must in practice adhere fairly closely to its tenets if they hope to achieve power.

Drawing by Golden

Stockholm Market

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BOOKS and the ARTS

DAVID WARK GRIFFITH

BY JAMES AGEE

HE ACHIEVED what no other known man has ever achieved. To watch his work is like being witness to the beginning of melody, or the first conscious use of the lever or the wheel; the emergence, coordination, and first eloquence of language; the birth of an art: and to realize that this is all the work of one man.

We will never realize how good he really was until we have the chance to see his work as often as it deserves to be seen, to examine and enjoy it in detail as exact as his achievement. But even relying, as we mainly have to, on years-old memories, a good deal becomes clear.

One crude but unquestionable indication of his greatness was his power to create permanent images. All through his work there are images which are as impossible to forget, once you have seen them, as some of the grandest and simplest passages in music or poetry.

The most beautiful single shot I have seen in any movie is the battle charge in "The Birth of a Nation." I have heard it praised for its realism, and that is deserved; but it is also far beyond realism. It seems to me to be a perfect realization of a collective dream of what the Civil War was like, as veterans might remember it fifty years later, or as children, fifty years later, might imagine it. I have had several clear mental images of that war, from almost as early as I can remember, and I didn't have the luck to see "The Birth of a Nation" until I was in my early twenties; but when I saw that charge, it was merely the clarification, and corroboration, of one of those visions, and took its place among them immediately without seeming to be of a different kind or order. It is the perfection that I know of, of the tragic glory that is possible, or used to be possible, in war; or in war as the best in the spirit imagines or remembers it.

This is, I realize, mainly subjective; but it suggests to me the clearest and deepest aspect of Griffith's genius: he was a great primitive poet, a man capable, as only great and primitive artists can be, of intuitively perceiving and perfecting the tremendous magical images that underlie the memory and imagination of entire peoples. If he had achieved this only once, and only for me, I could not feel that he was what I believe he is; but he created many such images, and I suspect that many people besides me have recognized them, on that deepest level that art can draw on, reach, and serve. There are many others in that one film: the homecoming of the defeated hero; the ride of the Clansmen; the rapist and his victim among the dark leaves; a glimpse of a war hospital; dead young soldiers after battle; the dark, slow movement of the Union Army away from the camera, along a valley which is quartered strongly between hill-shadow and sunlight; all these and still others have a dreamlike absoluteness which, indeed, cradles and suffuses the whole film.

This was the one time in movie history that a man of great ability worked freely, in an unspoiled medium, for an unspoiled audience, on a majestic theme which involved all that he was; and brought to it, besides his abilities as an inventor and artist, absolute passion, pity, courage, and honesty. "The Birth of a Nation" is equal with Brady's photographs, Lincoln's speeches, Whitman's war poems; for all its imperfections and absurdities it is equal, in fact, to the best work that has been done in this country. And among moving pictures it is alone, not necessarily as "the greatest"—whatever that means—but as the one great epic, tragic film.

(Today, "The Birth of a Nation" is boycotted or shown piecemeal; too many more or less well-meaning people still accuse Griffith of having made it an anti-Negro movie. At best, this is nonsense, and at worst, it is vicious nonsense. Even if it were an anti-Negro movie, a work of such quality should be shown, and shown whole. But the accusation is unjust. Griffith went to almost preposterous lengths to be fair to the Negroes as he understood them, and he understood them as a good type of Southerner does. I don't entirely agree with him; nor can I be sure that the film wouldn't cause trouble and misunderstanding, especially as advertised and exacerbated by contemporary abolitionists; but Griffith's absolute desire to be fair, and understandable, is written all over the picture; so are degrees of understanding, honesty, and compassion far beyond the capacity of his accusers. So, of course, are the salient facts of the so-called Reconstruction years.)

GRIFFITH never managed to equal "The Birth of a Nation" again, nor was he ever to strike off, in any other film, so many of those final images. Nevertheless, he found many: the strikers in "Intolerance"—the realism of those short scenes has never been surpassed, nor their shock and restiveness as an image of near-revolution; the intercutting, at the climax of that picture, between the climaxes of four parallel stories, like the swinging together of tremendous gongs; the paralyzing excitement of the melodrama near the waterfall, in "Way Down East"; Paul Revere's ride and the battle of Bunker Hill, in "America"; Danton's ride, in "Orphans of the Storm"; most subtle and remarkable of all, the early morning scene in his German film, "Isn't Life Wonderful?," in which the ape-like Dick Sutherland pursues Carol Dempster through a grove of slender trees. All these images, and so many others of Griffith's, have a sort of crude sublimity which nobody else in movies has managed to achieve; this last one, like his images of our Civil War, seems to come out of the deep subconscious: it is an absolute and prophetic image of a nation and a people. I will always regret having missed "Abraham Lincoln," his last film to be released: a friend has told me

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of its wonderful opening in stormy mid-winter night woods, the camera bearing along toward the natal cabin; and that surely must have been one of Griffith's finest images.

Even in Griffith's best work there is enough that is poor, or foolish, or merely old-fashioned, so that one has to understand, if by no means forgive, those who laugh indiscriminately at his good work and his bad. (With all that "understanding," I look forward to killing, some day, some specially happy giggler at the exquisite scene in which the veteran comes home, in "The Birth of a Nation.") But even his poorest work was never just bad. Whatever may be wrong with it, there is in every instant, so well as I can remember, the unique purity and vitality of birth or of a creature just born and first exerting its unprecedented, incredible strength; and there are, besides, Griffith's overwhelming innocence and magnanimity of spirit; his moral and poetic earnestness; his joy in his work; and his splendid intuitiveness, directness, common sense, daring, and skill as an inventor and as an artist. Aside from his talent or genius as an inventor and artist, he was all heart; and ruinous as his excesses sometimes were in that respect, they were inseparable from his virtues, and small beside them. He was remarkably good, as a rule, in the whole middle range of feeling, but he was at his best just short of his excesses, and he tended in general to work out toward the dangerous edge. He was capable of realism that has never been beaten and he might, if he had been able to appreciate his powers as a realist, have found therein his growth and salvation. But he seems to have been a realist only by accident, hit-and-run; essentially, he was a poet. He doesn't appear ever to have realized one of the richest promises that movies hold, as the perfect medium for realism raised to the level of high poetry; nor, oddly enough, was he much of a dramatic poet. But in epic and lyrical and narrative visual poetry, I can think of nobody who has surpassed him, and of few to compare with him. And as a primitive tribal poet, combining something of the bard and the seer, he is beyond even Dovshenko, and no others of their kind have worked in movies.

What he had above all, his ability as a craftsman and artist, would be hard enough—and quite unnecessary—to write of, if we had typical scenes before us, or within recent memory; since we have seen so little of his work in so many years, it is virtually impossible. I can remember very vividly his general spirit and manner—heroic, impetuous, tender, magniloquent, naive, beyond the endowment or daring of anybody since; just as vividly, I can remember the total impression of various major sequences. By my remembrance, his images were nearly always a little larger and wilder than life. The frame was always full, spontaneous, and lively. He knew wonderfully well how to contrast and combine different intensities throughout an immense range of emotion, movement, shadow, and light. Much of the liveliness was not intrinsic to the characters on the screen or their predicament, but was his own vitality and emotion; and much of it—notably in the amazing flickering and vivacity of his women—came of his almost maniacal realization of the importance of expressive movement.

It seems to me entirely reasonable to infer, from the extraordinary power and endurance in the memory of certain scenes in their total effect, that he was as brilliant a master of design and cutting and form as he was a composer of frames and a director of feeling and motion. But I cannot clearly remember one sequence or scene, shot by shot and rhythm by rhythm. I suspect, for instance, that analysis would show that the climactic sequence on the icy river, in "Way Down East," is as finely constructed a piece of melodramatic storytelling as any in movies. But I can only venture to bet on this and to suggest that that sequence, like a hundred others of Griffith's, is eminently worth analysis.

MY VENERATION for Griffith's achievements is all the deeper when I realize what handicaps he worked against, how limited a man he was. He had no remarkable power of intellect, or delicateness of soul; no subtlety; little restraint; little if any "taste," whether to help his work or harm it; Lord knows (and be thanked) no cleverness; no fundamental capacity, once he had achieved his first astonishing development, for change or growth. He wasn't particularly observant of people; nor do his movies suggest that he understood them at all deeply. He had noble powers of imagination. but little of the *intricacy* of imagination that most good poets also have. His sense of comedy was pathetically crude and numb. He had an exorbitant appetite for violence, for cruelty, and for the Siamese twin of cruelty, a kind of obsessive tenderness which at its worst was all but nauseating. Much as he invented, his work was saturated in the style, the mannerisms, and the underlying assumptions and attitudes of the nineteenth century provincial theater; and although much of that was much better than most of us realize, and any amount better than most of the styles and non-styles we accept and praise, much of it was cheap and false, and all of it, good and bad, was dying when Griffith gave it a new lease on life, and in spite of that new lease, died soon after, and took him down with it. I doubt that Griffith ever clearly knew the good from the bad in this theatricality; or, for that matter, clearly understood what was original in his work, and capable of almost unimaginably great development; and what was over-derivative, essentially non-cinematic, and dying. In any case, he did not manage to outgrow, or sufficiently to transform, enough in his style that was bad, or merely obsolescent.

If what I hear is right about the opening scene in "Abraham Lincoln," this incapacity for radical change may have slowed him up but never killed him as an artist; in his no longer fashionable way, he remained capable, and inspired. He was merely unadaptable and unemployable, like an old, sore, ardent individualist among contemporary progressives. Hollywood and, to a great extent, movies in general, grew down from him rather than up past him; audiences, and the whole eye and feeling of the world, have suffered the same degeneration; he didn't have it in him to be amenable, even if he'd tried; and that was the end of him. Or quite possibly he was finished, as smaller men are not, as soon as he had reached the limit of his own powers of innovation, and began to realize he was only repeating himself. Certainly, anyhow, he was natural-born for the years of adventure and discovery, not for the inevitable following era of safe-playing and of fat consolidation of others' gains.

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His last movie, which was never even released, was made fourteen or fifteen years ago; and for years before that, most people had thought of him as a has-been. Nobody would hire him; he had nothing to do. He lived too long, and that is one of few things that are sadder than dying too soon.

There is not a man working in movies, or a man who cares for them, who does not owe Griffith more than he owes anybody else.

The Goebbels Myth

JOSEPH GOEBBELS. By Curt Riess. Doubleday and Company. $3.95.

AS THE first biography of the Nazi manipulator of modern mass communication—from books, newspapers, and the theater to radio, films, mass meetings, and parades—this book has intrinsic interest. Using, to some extent, the works of Konrad Heiden, Rudolf Olden, H. R. Trevor-Roper, and others, Mr. Riess gives effective sketches of many events in which Goebbels played a prominent part. He adds numerous details he has unearthed in extensive post-war researches in Germany, where he interviewed everyone able to throw light on Goebbels's private and public life. The account follows Goebbels from birth to suicide, yet falls short of being the expected enlightening biography.

The reason for this seems to lie in the approach the author has taken. In an introduction, interesting for its many misjudgments, Mr. Riess states arbitrarily: "It is pointless to indicate what was evil about Goebbels because everything about him was evil. Therefore, his life and his work must be viewed as completely detached from all moral considerations, in the manner of looking upon an athlete or a prize fighter for the exclusive purpose of finding out whether he has achieved what he set out to do, whether he has established a world record, or whether he has failed." Thus the question as to what constitutes human greatness, which every biographer must ask and answer in order to provide himself with a standard, is thrown out of the window. This novel procedure proves to be fatal: the relevant question is not whether Goebbels was more or less successful—the answer is Germany in ruins—but of what nature are the forces and needs that produce the totalitarian propaganda chief and the sort of person fitted for the job.

Mr. Riess does not concern himself with these problems. He calls Goebbels the devil's advocate, and then proceeds to enjoy his technical skills, as so many have done in this period of moral disintegration, when quantity is set above quality and the statesman who causes the most trouble to the greatest number is admired even by his victims. If Goebbels and the other Nazi leaders had been rare and exceptionally gifted men, one could sleep easier. But the horrifying fact is that they were—whether we like it or not—human beings of the sort that grows everywhere in the modern wilderness. They failed completely, even in what they set out to do—the thousand years of the Third Reich passed in twelve. One can only hope that the memory of the one thing they demonstrated convincingly will be kept alive: the depths of debasement to which the totalitarian principle—that the end justifies the means—must lead.

Goebbels's effectiveness, so far as it went, was provided by the storm troopers, the S. S., and the Gestapo agents standing behind each of his spoken and written words. On his own merits, without the party and the terror, Goebbels would not have lasted a single day. As for his alleged main achievement of having kept high the morale of the German people to the very end of the war ("A man who fulfilled his task one hundred per cent: he was ordered to keep up public morale, and he did"), the truth is that it was not Goebbels who kept the Germans in the war. Proof of this is to be found in the general contempt in which he was held in Germany, the concentration camps for political opponents, the widespread conspiracy culminating in the attempted assassination of Hitler in 1944, and the subsequent execution of thousands of conspirators. Had the Allies recognized that the Germans, too, were victims of the Plague, however willing ones, and had helped the anti-Nazis as they assisted the resistance movements in the occupied countries, the war would have ended sooner.

I knew Goebbels and listened to him often. He was a cheap rabble-rouser whose attempts at speaking on a higher level, as in the Reichstag, were simply appalling. During the war, it was one of my duties to follow his work day by day—it was the work of an unscrupulous publicity agent with unlimited funds at his disposal. I cannot accept the postulate that "without Goebbels's propaganda magic, Hitler certainly would not have become a world menace." If the Western powers had decided in time to stop Hitler, none of Goebbels's tricks could have saved him. Hitler succeeded as far as he did because hard realities were in his favor. Not even in Germany did Goebbels's propaganda bring victory to the Führer; the power was handed to him by junkers and industrialists afraid of socialism—at the very moment, as Mr. Riess emphasises correctly, when his star, the swastika, was sinking.

The biographer calls Goebbels also "no mean prophet," and has a theory according to which the beaten devil's advocate kept himself busy with planting "propaganda time bombs" that will explode in due course and shake the world. The articles, however, which supposedly contain these "time bombs" show Goebbels only as a wishful thinker without any understanding, at that late hour, of the real forces at work in this world. Here is what the prophet had to say about the United States in 1948: "A Republican—that is, an isolationist—will become President of the United States. His first action will probably be to recall the American troops from the boiling cauldron of Europe. This will be applauded by the entire American public . . ."

Mr. Riess is convincing when he presents the young Goebbels as a despairing intellectual who found in Hitler at least one man who had faith. He fails in his appraisal of the older Goebbels because he mistakes the resourcefulness of the machine at Goebbels's command for the resourcefulness of the man himself. Goebbels's private life supports this contention. This vain and sensual little man, in his immaculate clothes and sunlamp tan, lived the life that any number

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of rich, busy executives live, complete with children, adultery, and the great passion for a little actress who is duly discarded for business reasons. Mr. Riess tells this part of the story well. At his best, as a straight reporter, he cannot help showing what Goebbels really was: an energetic mediocrity, a yellow journalist behind a machine gun.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Exile's Return

JAMES JOYCE: TWO DECADES OF CRITICISM. Edited by Seon Givens. Vanguard Press. $5.

ELIOT, Proust, Mann, Kafka, James, the little magazines, much of the "suspect" literature of our time, have recently come in for intensive study and critical compilations. To compare the present collection of essays on Joyce with that daring and *épatant* symposium of the twenties, "Our Exagmination Round his Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress," is to note a sudden shift in sensibility toward what Max Weber might have termed the bureaucratization of the Bohemian. Gosse's fulminations against the Irish *fumiste*, the notorious practical-joker —"There are no English critics of weight or judgment who consider Mr. Joyce an author of any importance"— are disposed of, once for all. The Collaboration, it is clear, has been absorbing the Resistance; the laurels are cut down; Joyce's heroic labors have issued in the chit-chat of memoirists, the complacencies of card-indexers, and the commentaries of subscribers to the favorite philistine myth of a scientific age that artists experiment, rather than create out of an inner necessity. One looks through these essays in vain for any recognition of the *inevitability* of Joyce, or his relation to the Symbolists, such as Rimbaud, and the whole pattern of fluidity in modern literature— the Schopenhauerian synthesis foretold by Spengler—dissolving prose barriers, or the intense significance of Gertrude Stein's words, "The important things written in this generation do not tell a story," or, except for Eliot, any serious connection between Joyce and the future of literature.

On the whole, Joyce has suffered from a curious ineptness in his critics, a failure of perception in his Eckermann-like friends. For example, Mr. Mercier has the bad taste to call Joyce "our Irish Whitman"; or Stuart Gilbert, who did the authorized commentary on "Ulysses," is convinced that Leopold Bloom did not have an unhappy day— shades of Blazes Boylan! It is altogether in keeping with tradition, therefore, that the present volume should omit the most brilliant American exegete, Harry Levin; that space should be found for two long essays in Farrell's windy style, but none for Pound or Lewis or Gogarty; that it should lack an index, a sensible preface, a statement of criteria for selection, an adequate list of references—a want which will shortly be remedied by the Slocum-Cahoon bibliography now in progress; and that it should close with two letters by Eliot to the London *Times* on Joyce's death, one amusingly cautious, the other bold and vehement, which reveal more about Eliot's character than about Joyce.

Nevertheless, it would be unjust to conclude that Miss Givens's collection of nineteen essays will not be found useful, perhaps indispensable, as the only one of its kind in English; or that several studies, excellent within their limits, are not at hand. One thinks particularly of Frederick J. Hoffman's admirable investigation of the Freudian influence on Joyce; of S. Foster Damon's fine pioneer work on "Ulysses," still valuable; of William Troy's penetrating notes on "Finnegan's Wake," which manage, however, to commit the usual inanities on Shakespeare's freedom from "theological obligations"; and Joseph Campbell's, and Edmund Wilson's— probably the best introduction, though inclined to a literalness which attributes H. C. Earwicker's dream to an individual more than to the Here Comes Everybody whom Joyce envisioned; of Hugh Kenner's satisfying interweaving of the "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" and "Ulysses" in the form of question and reply. Altogether, the picture we get is of a highly integrated canon, with "Dubliners" and the "Portrait" feeding into "Ulysses," and "Ulysses," in turn, into "Finnegans Wake," the whole probably intended to be capped by the projected epic on the sea; altogether, an achievement astoundingly first-rate for our time, worthy of a comparable criticism, by the most intransigent and last great exile of modern art.

WILLIAM ELTON

The Arctic World

TO THE ARCTIC! By Jeannette Mirsky. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

THE evil that men do lives after them. One of the incidental evils perpetrated by Dr. Frederick Cook,

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pseudo-discoverer of the North Pole in 1909, was the withholding of this brilliant history of Arctic exploration from the general reading public for a period of fourteen years. First published in 1934, entitled "To the North," is was soon withdrawn from sale under threat of a libel suit by Dr. Cook, and it now appears in print as a virtually new publication.

But the fourteen-year delay has not proved an unmixed evil. Since 1934 World War II has been fought and Soviet Russia has displaced Hitlerite Germany as the foremost menace to the peace of America and the world. Mankind in general has become air-minded. The shortest lines connecting the great cities of the world fall within the Arctic Circle, and around the Arctic Ocean lie the three great powers of the world —Britain, Russia, and the United States. Inevitably, therefore, Miss Mirsky's story of the centuries-long search which brought the Arctic within the ken of civilized peoples has a far wider appeal than it would have commanded as recently as 1934. "A hundred are now talking and reading about the Arctic," remarks Vilhjalmur Stefansson in his appreciative introduction to the book, "against one who did [then]."

Although the ancients had some slight knowledge of the Arctic regions, the first race of men who really became familiar with them were the medieval Norse sea rovers who colonized Iceland and Greenland and apparently visited the North American mainland. However, the knowledge they gained was subsequently largely lost to the European world. The first modern intensive assault upon the Arctic came in the period following the voyages of Columbus, when the northern nations, intent upon gaining access to the commerce of the Orient, began the search for the Northeast Passage around Europe.

They did not find it, of course, but in place of the treasures of Cathay hardy Dutch and English mariners uncovered a different source of wealth in the whale fisheries around the coast of Spitzbergen. Here, far to the north of continental Europe, about the time Puritan Massachusetts was being founded, the Dutch developed the whale-oil boom town of Smeerenburg—Blubbertown—to which in summer hundreds of ships and thousands of men resorted. The story of the rise and decline of Blubbertown forms one of the author's most fascinating chapters.

Characteristic of the spread of civilized men over the earth with their insensate destruction of natural resources is the story of Spitzbergen.

The land whose teeming fauna Hudson had observed had known successive waves of men. First they had looted its waters for blubber and bone, then they had ravaged its valleys for fine peltry, and lastly they had hunted down the reindeer herds for meat. The wild citizens of the waters, the coast, and the inlands were exterminated. The tragic reign begun by the harpoon was finished by the gun. The rape of Spitzbergen was complete.

But space is lacking to comment upon the many tales of heroism, stupidity, greed, and tragedy which the author narrates. A superb literary stylist has applied her eager mind and pen to the recital of a large segment of human history, producing a book which Stefansson ranks for merit with "Arabia Deserta" and "Moby Dick." It deserves, and will no doubt receive, the earnest attention of the judges who determine the Pulitzer literary awards.

In closing let me return to Dr. Cook. One afternoon some twenty-five years ago I chanced to visit the Western capital of vaudeville, the old Majestic Theater in Chicago. The house was crowded, and inserted between the trained-seal and magician's acts was a discourse by Doctor Cook. His theme was his discovery of the Pole and the knavery of those who questioned his claim, and in the few moments allotted to his act he gave the most amazing exhibition of oratorical skill I have ever witnessed. Almost from his first sentence the audience was in the hollow of his hand, frequently interrupting his recital of his deeds and his denunciation of his critics with storms of applause. Apparently everyone save me was firmly convinced that Dr. Cook was the greatest and the most persecuted explorer since Christopher Columbus.

In Miss Mirsky's considered judgment "Cook was an extraordinary figure. It is impossible to dismiss him simply by calling him a liar. Rather it may be said that he was a great teller of stories, a fiction writer who on a certain amount of fact built a vivid and absorbing yarn. . . . [His story] is exciting and well written, but it nevertheless appears to be mainly fiction." Yet the passage of forty years and the publication of "dozens of books and thousands of articles" have not sufficed to end the debate which the fictions of this master hoaxer started.

M. M. QUAIFE

Canaries and Cockroaches

EVERYDAY MIRACLE. By Gustav Eckstein. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

THE little pieces that compose this volume are rather shorter than usual, but otherwise they are perfectly characteristic Eckstein—which means that they exhibit a unique sensibility and a unique style. Perhaps no one else ever felt about canaries and cockroaches exactly as he does; certainly, no one else ever wrote about them before in just this way. The very sentence structure is individual and sometimes, perhaps, rather contrary to the rules. But it works, and it contributes to a total effect which could not be mistaken for that of any other writer.

Mr. Eckstein has knowledge and humor and wisdom. Above all, of course, he has an all-embracing pity that is almost morbid, or rather would be if it were not balanced, as it is, by other qualities. Perhaps no writer on similar subjects has ever solved so successfully one of the problems which they present: how to avoid assuming that animals are human beings without at the same time falling into the worse error of writing about them as if they were machines. His birds are convincing as birds; his cockroaches are neither sentimentalized (which, believe it or not, could be done) nor as they merely something to try D. D. T. on.

The pieces in the present volume are mostly about the birds that inhabit and the cockroaches that infest his laboratory, though they also wander as far afield as Moscow and Athens. In a curious, unobtrusive, almost unintentional way, they are also about the author: he lives in a world of his own, in which mice are not more important than men

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but at least equally so. Some readers are incapable of entering that world, but only those who are absolutely so will be able to resist his persuasive invitation.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

From Zero to Zero

MONSIEUR TESTE. By Paul Valéry. Translated from the French and with a note on Valéry by Jackson Mathews. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

"LA SOIRÉE AVEC M. TESTE" is one of the books we grew up with. Though I am a little astonished at Mr. Mathews, who tells me in his introduction that Valéry "illustrates the only France of his time," it is quite true that one rereads it—say every five or seven years. "M. Teste" is the book at which Valéry kept writing all his life; because it came out in 1894, the additional "excerpts from the logbook," the "notes for a portrait of M. Teste," and "the end of M. Teste," were gradually superimposed on a book which was fragmentary and impressionistic even when first published.

It is the journal kept by a proud man who, until just before the very end, denies the existence of anything but the cold, reasoning intellect, which he has explored to its limits. Valéry, though he never mentions Bergson in these pages, is continually preoccupied with Bergson's question: How shall the mere conscious mind, the Part, comprehend the Whole? Or, in M. Teste's words: "Imagine an 'eternal' observer whose role is nothing more than to rehearse and demonstrate the system whose *Self* is that instantaneous part that thinks it is the Whole. The Self could never manage to function if it did not believe it was all." But later: "I do not face the world, I face the WALL. There's not the least speck on the wall I do not know."

If that's any satisfaction.

Monsieur Teste, then, is the man for whom life "is a matter of going from zero to zero. From the unconscious and senseless to the unconscious and senseless." And the man for whom the abyss, the unconscious, Pascal, Baudelaire, Stendhal, Bergson, and Freud do not exist. This is not to say that Valéry was unaware of other points of view, as is attested by the inclusion of the very interesting Letter from Mme Emilie Teste, and the Letter from a friend (Gide?), but there is absolutely no comment except for a flippant and rather vapid footnote by that eternal solipsist, "the mystic without God," as Madame Teste calls her husband.

Only at the very end of his life is Teste beset by doubt. "My 'soul' begins at the very point where I can see no further, where I can do nothing more—where my mind closes its own road ahead—and coming back from the greater depths, looks condescendingly at the mark on the sounding-line, at the catch in the net, a sorry haul brought up from the middling deeps . . ." Where Baudelaire and Pascal dropped helplessly when the trap was sprung beneath them, Teste remains ambulatory. One notes the somewhat bewildered mixing of metaphors, as though a slight vertigo confused azimuth and declination (strange in a great poet), as well as the word *condescendingly*.

T. S. Eliot considers Valéry as representative of a Europe which is now finished, the representative poet of the first half of the twentieth century, ". . . not Yeats, not Rilke, not any one else." The translator and editor of this new American edition of *"Teste"* tells us that "the figure of Paul Valéry stands for his age as Voltaire and Hugo stand for theirs." I suppose Mr. Mathews intended this for a compliment, and I disagree with Mr. Eliot. But Mr. Mathews's translation is good. The make-up of the book is pretty and has lots of snob appeal. On page twelve: "I never saw him [Teste] except at night. Once in a kind of b———." *Bordel*, my poor old paperbound Gallimard edition says. At a price of five dollars for ninety-four pages, we don't want any one to think the word was bathtub.

RENÉ BLANC-ROOS

History as Narrative

TRIUMPH OF FREEDOM, 1775-1783. By John C. Miller. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book, Little, Brown and Company. $6.50.

THERE was a time when writers of narrative history found a ready audience, but I believe the art has undergone a sharp decline, not only in quality but in appeal. People are no longer so interested in the historical narrative as a tale. They like their history to be considerably more analytical, and they want to find in it something that will sustain, or at least seem relevant to, their political ideologies. Consider the two most popular histories in the United States during the last few years. Toynbee's "A Study of History" and Schlesinger's "Age of Jackson." The first, a long analytical essay on world history, is the opposite of the sort of narrative

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that centers upon details in a single locale and period; the second combines a modicum of narrative with much analysis and criticism. Perhaps more important, both have the necessary *Tendenz*: Toynbee's book is plainly a tract for the times; Schlesinger's is a veritable product of New Deal culture that votes in every chapter for F. D. R.

John C. Miller's "Triumph of Freedom" is the work of a competent scholar who has spent about fifteen years studying the Revolutionary period. His narrative reads interestingly, but still it makes a cold and forbidding book. It lacks, above all, a philosophic thread to give it an importance proportionate to its bulk. Its ideology is simple and familiar: Mr. Miller approves of the American Revolution; he finds in it the source of American liberty and democracy. He feels that to recapture "the spirit and philosophy of the era that gave birth to the Declaration of Independence" is "a compulsive need of democracy in our time." I fail to see, however, how an old-fashioned account of military and diplomatic events can establish that spirit and philosophy, still less relate it to the subsequent pattern of American culture.

Mr. Miller does not place the Revolution as an event in the history of Western civilization; he has done little with the important political, social, intellectual, and constitutional developments between 1775 and 1783. His treatment of the Declaration of Independence itself is perfunctory. (He does not have a good chapter on the drastic inflation that came with the war, which is his concession to the preoccupations of the present.)

A good many historians feel that the journalistic demand for contemporary relevance on the part of publishers and the reading public is an unfortunate influence on historical writing. But there is also a demand for humanistic significance which Mr. Miller has substantially ignored. In concentrating upon the campaigns—which were pretty close to what we would now call guerrilla warfare—he has failed to realize the complexity of the Revolution or to sound its meaning. He offers the volume as "a concise restatement" of the great body of Revolutionary scholarship—which seems a rather humorless description of a work of 700 pages. Conciseness, moreover, is not Mr. Miller's forte. His prose is modeled partly upon the rhetoric of politics and partly upon the conventions of academic scholarship. When he wants to say that British leaders entered the war expecting that the French would stay out, he writes: "Great Britain embarked upon war with its colonies little apprehending that France would make itself a party to the dispute." Some of the defects of the book are a little less formidable when it is read in conjunction with its companion volume, "Origins of the American Revolution," published in 1943.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

A Partial Testament

WITNESSES FOR FREEDOM: NEGRO AMERICANS IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Rebecca Chalmers Barton. Harper and Brothers. $3.50

REBECCA BARTON'S aim of presenting the Negro as his own interpreter, through his autobiographical writings, is admirable, but it is inevitably frustrated because no work can exclude as many outstanding personalities as this one does—merely because they have not written autobiographies—and claim to be representative of the race in thought and action. Yet to expect that the few decades since Reconstruction would yield sufficient material for such an undertaking was to expect too much to begin with. One would hardly have ventured an appraisal of the French or the English under similar conditions.

"Witnesses For Freedom" ranges in time and scope from the apologetic "Up From Slavery" of "the accommodator," Booker T. Washington, to the defiant yet perceptive "Black Boy" of "the protester," Richard Wright. In between are depicted "the achievers," Matthew A. Henson, Admiral Peary's co-discoverer of the North Pole, and W. C. Handy of blues fame; and "the experimenters," Zora Neale Hurston and Claude McKay, who dared to grapple directly with the facts of their racial origin. Perhaps reflecting the mood of Negroes today, Mrs. Barton devotes the last section of her book, Protesters For a New Freedom, to those intransigent and colorful fighters, Frederick Douglass, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, and James Weldon Johnson. Unfortunately, all too little space is given to Douglass, and our vision of him is therefore panoramic.

When Mrs. Barton deals with individuals of the stature of a Washington, a Handy, or a Du Bois, their self-portraits emerge fairly clearly through the filter of her narrative exposition. But when she dredges up the lives of comparative unknowns, presumably to maintain balance among her four main divisions and give body to the book, the results are poor. No one much cares that, forty-odd years ago, pedestrian Marshall W. Taylor was "the world's fastest bicycle rider," or that Lieutenant William J. Powell tried the impossible notion of creating a black aviation industry.

One notes regretfully the many full-bodied personalities—Jesse Owens, Satchel Paige, Mary McLeod Bethune, Walter White, Charles S. Johnson, and A. Philip Randolph, to name but a handful—who miss inclusion in this volume solely because they have not yet summed up their lives for us on paper.

Still, for those little acquainted with Negro life, "Witnesses For Freedom" will provide at least an introduction. Rebecca Barton's extensive and well-assimilated knowledge of Negro problems, her sympathetic handling, and her straightforward prose, often compensate for the paucity of her subject-matter.

DANIEL JAMES

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Letters to the Editors

Case History on Ludecke

Dear Sirs: Your editorial note in the issue of August 14 on the Supreme Court's decision in the Ludecke case is not quite accurate in statement of fact or of the law.

The Alien Enemy Act of 1798 authorizes the President, "whenever there is a declared war," to apprehend, intern, *and remove* alien enemies. Ludecke, a German national with a long record of Nazi activity, was interned during the war, but naturally could not be deported to Germany until hostilities ceased. No question was raised as to the legality of his internment. In July, 1945, the President directed the Attorney General to deport all alien enemies deemed to be "dangerous to the public peace and safety." The Attorney General found, in January, 1946, that Ludecke fell within the President's proclamation and ordered his immediate removal.

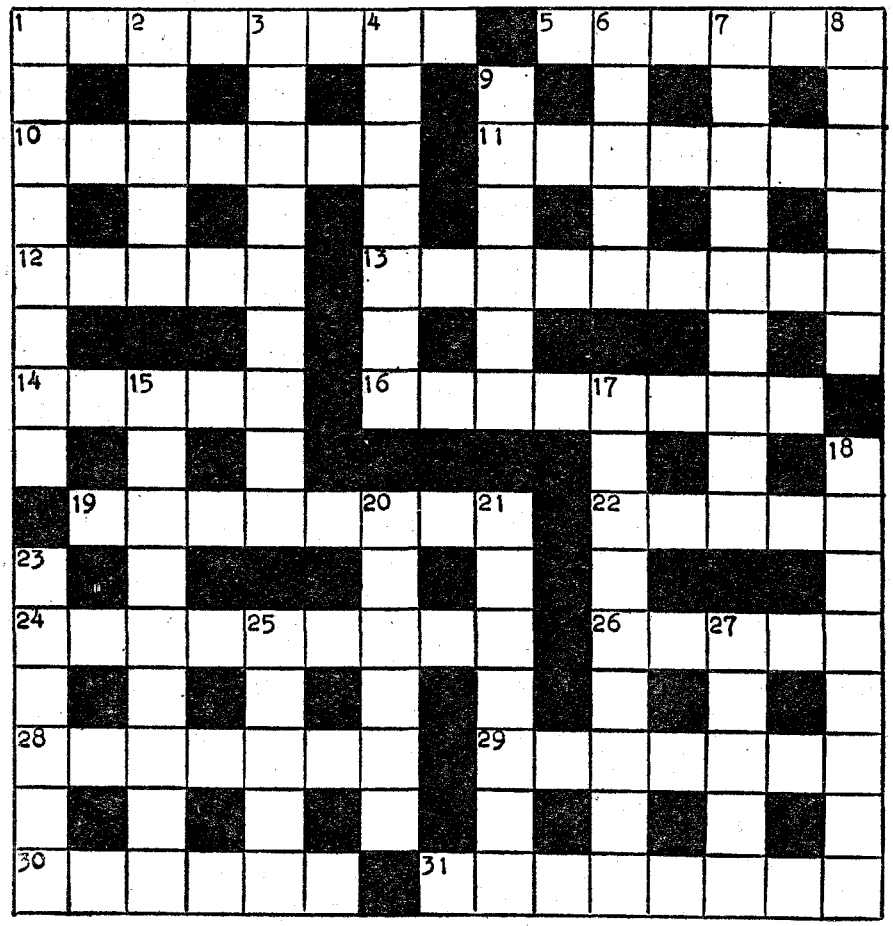
Ludecke took the case to court, and when it reached the Supreme Court last spring, he argued that the President's authority should be narrowly construed; that the "war" ended as soon as the shooting stopped; and that the President no longer had the power to deport him. A majority of the court, in an opinion delivered by Justice Frankfurter, rejected this argument because it "in effect nullifies the power to deport alien enemies. . . ."

That is all the court decided. Your editorial, however, makes it appear that the decision goes far beyond that. The majority ruling is described as permitting the deportation of any alien without hearing or judicial review, even in time of peace, if he holds "views" which the Attorney General regards as "dangerous." The editorial does not make it clear that the majority were careful to hold that the Alien Enemy Act applies only (a) to alien *enemies* and (b) in time of *war*. One may disagree with the court's construing that an alien enemy properly interned during the war can now be removed, notwithstanding the cessation of hostilities, but it is erroneous to imply that the court has given the Attorney General arbitrary authority to deport any alien at any time, simply because his political beliefs are regarded as "dangerous."

Your description of Herr Ludecke would make it hard for his best friends to recognize him. It is a pity that *The*

Crossword Puzzle No. 277

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Leaf-insects? (8)
5 Such sayings are made from time to time. (6)
10, 11, 25, 14. Alternate messages for 17. (3, 2, 2, 4, 3, 3, 2, 2, 3)
12 Praise. (5)
13 Names torn into bits, but decorative. (9)
14 See 10.
16 It's no longer tenth. (8)
19 The charge this wire bears is usually in proportion to its length. (8)
22 If a girl's mannerisms are, she isn't. (5)
24 Poses. (9)
26 A loss sometimes suffered by cattle. (5)
28 Possibly a pole, but not positively. (7)
29 A tank is thus returned to a bird. (7)
30 Confession, sometimes short. (6)
31 Linseed. (8)

DOWN

1 Synonymous with 5. (8)
2 Where Dirck and Joris and I galloped from. (5)
3 The opposite of what John L. said we do. (9)
4 Shaped like a shield. (7)
6 Such goods are dug up. (5)
7 This keeps the mid-western farmer from losing his pants? (5, 4)
8 Mournful at first, it's finally broken. (6)
9 Whoever waits to see someone here must be patient. (6)
15 Periodically conducted by Addison and Steele. (9)
17 Neuter? (9)
18 This is connected on short notice. (8)
20 Stern direction-giver. (6)
21 Such a saw is not so good if too sharp. (7)
23 Borne by the lictor. (6)
25 See 10.
27 Almost any act shows more than one. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 276

ACROSS:—1 LONG TIME NO SEE; 10 COLON; 11 EXERCISES; 12 NAPOLEONS; 13 RANGE; 14 PONS ASINORUM; 19 BREAST-STROKE; 22 ELLIS; 24 CANADA LEE; 25 CLOSE CALL; 26 EDUCE; 27 ROTARY PRESSES.

DOWN:—2 OXLIPS; 3 GANGLIONS; 5 ICE-HOUSES; 5 EVENS; 6 OSCAR; 7 ELSINORE; 8 SCENE; 9 ESTEEMS; 15 STRANGLER; 16 BARENESS; 17 ABSENCE; 18 WELL-TO-DO; 20 ALLURE; 21 YEMEN; 23 SHEBA; 24 CHARY

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Nation did not curb its indignation long enough to give Ludecke the same careful scrutiny he got from the Department of Justice. Most of the salient facts are set forth in his autobiography, "I Knew Hitler," published in 1937 and dedicated to the "memory of Captain Ernst Roehm and Gregor Strasser, and many other Nazis who were betrayed, murdered, and traduced in their graves."

From 1924 to 1933, Ludecke represented Hitler in North America, one of his duties being the solicitation of funds for the Nazi Party. He returned to Germany in 1933 to collect the reward of his missionary labors. He made the mistake, however, of joining the Roehm-Strasser clique, and, briefly, became a "martyr" to Nazism. All this may prove that Ludecke was *persona non grata* with the Hitler-Goering-Goebbels faction, but it cannot endear him to those who do not like Nazis of any variety.

It is certainly reasonable to argue that . . . no single official should be entrusted with the power to deport alien enemies, even in time of war, without judicial review and without being required by law to afford adequate notice and hearing. It is another matter, however, to give your readers so distorted an account of what the Ludecke case was about and what the court did and did not decide.

PHILIP ELMAN

Washington, D. C., August 18

The Basic Principle

Dear Sirs: Mr. Elman's letter is based solely on a strictly legalistic interpretation of the Supreme Court's ruling. The decision clearly established the unwholesome doctrine that deportation, which in many cases results in consequences far worse than a criminal sentence—at least as far as alien enemies are concerned—is wholly without court review. But court review has become established in our recent history as perhaps the most efficacious method of safeguarding our liberties.

The American Civil Liberties Union has long pressed for the extension of court review of administrative decisions, which even the Administrative Agencies Act did not enlarge. The Ludecke decision, from this point of view, is therefore unfavorable.

Mr. Elman's comments on Ludecke's character, while no doubt accurate, are, of course, irrelevant. The Constitution, including the Bill of Rights, applies to all persons, including alien enemies and even those who, if they had the chance, would destroy it. This has been the principle upon which all our civil-liberties concepts are based.

I am glad to note that apparently Mr. Elman would agree on this latter proposition. His support of the decision, it would therefore seem, is somewhat colored by the unsavory background of the individual involved.

CLIFFORD FORSTER

New York, August 26

[*Mr. Forster is staff counsel to the American Civil Liberties Union, New York City.*—EDITORS THE NATION]

Law Is Not Enough

Dear Sirs: Among the few accomplishments of the United Nations is the outlawry of genocide. After all, nobody would dare to oppose the prohibition of mass murder. The many examples in history of this gruesome practice and, in particular, the unspeakable Nazi horrors, point to the need for adequate measures to stop the extermination of human beings. And it is not surprising, in view of the world's experience with the Kellogg-Briand pact outlawing war, that genocide should be declared a crime. Accordingly, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations plans to draft a convention for the next General Assembly.

There is certainly no harm in declaring genocide a crime. What value such a declaration may have is another matter. Some people, including apparently the coiner of this magic word, believe that there will be "no more killing of people who belong to opposite groups" if an internationally accepted law provides for the punishment of such acts.

Two years ago in *The Nation,* I ventured to express doubt that Caesar, Napoleon, or even Hitler would have refrained from waging an aggressive war if a Nürnberg tribunal had previously declared such action to be an international crime. Since then, a growing number of critics have censured the dangerous futility of the Nürnberg novelty. Some of the Nazi key men have been executed, but this impressed the Nazi-minded Germans as little as it satisfied the appetite of those who crave revenge for the unprecedented mass murders of the Nazi regime. Yet the inefficacy of the Nürnberg "precedent" is of less consequence than the threat to law itself, which is inherent in the ignoring or discarding of some of its fundamental principles—principles evolved and established over a long period of time.

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No similar objection can be raised against the proposal that genocide be declared a crime—though the consequences may vary in different countries. What practical results it may have in preventing group murder is another matter. Even if we disagree with Napoleon's dictum, *les crimes collectifs n'engageant personne,* it is questionable whether punishment is an efficacious method of preventing them.

Just as, in past ages, war was described as the *ultima ratio regum,* the ultimate means of kings, it is still a current belief that punishment is the the *ultima ratio legum,* the ultimate means of law. This faith in the omnipotence of law overlooks the inequality between the deterrent effect of punishment and the power of the motives that produce crime. Like the unsuccessful lover who writes a poem, the state, when it is unable to deal successfully with undesirable human behavior, sometimes writes a law. But there is no need to point out that, if the law fails of its object, the moral effect is worse than if there had been no law at all.

And this is the case with genocide. Those who advocate its penalization, on the one hand, ignore the mighty emotional motives which lead to religious, racial, or national group murder and, on the other, overrate the potency of punishment, including even the extreme penalty. Murder was punishable under the Czarist regime, but its penalization did as little to prevent recurrent pogroms as did the law of the Sultan to prevent the mass murder of Armenians. Would the penalization of genocide have checked these atrocities? People swayed by deeply rooted passions are, as a rule, not very responsive to the threat of capital punishment. It has more effect on Joe Doakes than on the prospective criminal. Bigotry, Daniel O'Connell wrote, has no head and cannot think; no heart and cannot feel.

Law is both a doctrine and a power. Without the indoctrination of its rules, its power is inefficient. Therefore, the enactment of an international law against genocide presupposes educational measures against intolerance. No one, not even Torquemada or Hitler, was born intolerant. If the U. N. wants to fight caveman prejudices that ultimately become manifest in the fanaticism of mass murder, it is UNESCO that must take the lead. Only the acceptance of the humanistic ideal in education can overcome the sinister suicidal forces that produce group murder.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

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